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The Self as Subject and the Subjected Self: Networks of Being and Becoming in the Captivity of Miguel de Cervantes and Antonio de Sosa

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The Self as Subject and the Subjected Self: Networks of Being and Becoming in Miguel de Cervantes and Antonio de Sosa

by

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Dedication

To Scott

To Mom

To Dad

To Celeste

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The Self as Subject and the Subjected Self: Networks of Being and Becoming in Miguel de Cervantes and Antonio de Sosa

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In this dissertation, I draw on theories of affect, performance and social networks to examine cross-cultural contact in three captivity plays by Miguel de Cervantes that take place outside of Spain, *La gran sultana*, *El trato de Argel* and *Los baños de Argel*, as well as the only extant work by the Portuguese cleric Antonio de Sosa, *Topografía e historia general de Argel*, an understudied and historically significant account of life in Algiers during the late sixteenth century. Both of these authors, held against their will in Algiers' slave quarters, emphasize humanity and corporeality despite their dehumanizing experience of captivity. I regard the act of writing as an attempt by these two authors to create new nodes in a human Mediterranean network, one expanded by corsairing and spanning from Algeria to the Spanish playhouses and beyond. In doing so, my dissertation shows how works of this epoch often dismantle binary systems of Christian and Muslim, self and other, dyads upon which modern postcolonial studies rely so heavily. I argue that these authors, and their fictional characters, are intermediaries across categories of identity, in spite of difference. Through my close readings I further refashion early modern Spanish identity within the framework of cosmopolitanism, wherein sites of bondage become not only spaces of conflict but also of confluence.

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Introduction: Interfaces

This dissertation is as an attempt to reconcile contemporary theories of identity within the Spanish early modern period. Focusing on two authors who experienced captivity alongside one another in Algiers, Miguel de Cervantes and Antonio de Sosa, I present a case study of the way that these two authors experienced the Orient simultaneously and returned with distinct intentions of portraying it for a uniquely Spanish audience. Through captivity, Sosa and Cervantes were flung outside of their home networks of being, and since their works were written during or immediately after their captivity I consider their literature to be cultural artifacts, microhistories of early modern cultural contact. Spanish Christian captives like Cervantes and Sosa brokered difference between their own communities and among other social circles of Jews, Muslims and Christian captives from the rest of Europe, as well as local Algerians and Turks, becoming "trans-imperial subjects," or someone who functions as a cultural intermediary, a person who articulated difference along unfolding boundaries. In this study, I consider three captivity plays by Cervantes that take place outside of Spain, *La gran sultana* (1615), *Los baños de Argel* (1615) and *El trato de Argel* (1581), as well as the only extant work by Sosa, *La Topographia e historia general de Argel* (1612), an understudied and historically significant account of life in Algiers during the late sixteenth century. Both of these authors emphasize a common sense of humanity despite their dehumanizing experiences of captivity, and fashion themselves as transcultural brokers, as nodes in an emergent social network created and expanded by the acts of corsairs.

Using theories of affect, social networks and gender, I demonstrate how these works are indicative of an early modern cosmopolitanism, one in which sites of captivity

become not only sites of trauma but also of creativity. Cervantes and Sosa stage a polyvalent Mediterranean existence, within which the lives of Muslims and Christians alike weave through an expanding early modern geography. But rather than reaffirm early modern Spanish social constructions of identity, these two authors often dismantle binary systems of self and other. I argue that these authors, and their fictional characters mediate identity in spite of difference. I consider the body and subjectivity as religious constructions, and reconfigure notions of corporeality within the context of captivity in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Throughout, I ask questions such as how these two authors' experiences of trauma affect the way that they write the East, in what sense do they attempt to exert an authority over the Orient, and in doing so, how do they create, maintain or redefine systematic constructions of ethnic, racial and religious difference?

The "West's" fascination with the "East" is heightened by the imaginary boundaries between the two, and the seafaring circuits of the early modern Mediterranean are a unique example of the permeability of these borders. Utilizing network theory as a unifying thread throughout this study allows me to describe flows of ideas, affects, and ideologies of gender and religion in the early modern Mediterranean. Combining these approaches also permits me to create a model of analysis based on Spanish literature's relationship to Eurocentrism and Orientalism, or rather, how Spain has at once attempted to speak for the "East" while also being considered a part of it. I uncover the underlying connections and articulations between the people of the Mediterranean to show how, in the early modern era, identity is increasingly breeched and forged through social circles. Ultimately, my dissertation complicates monolithic theses of Orientalism and identity by arguing that Sosa and Cervantes show how the East can speak even from within those participating in an Orientalist project. Due to these two authors' experience of captivity, a

space of abjection and othering, they align themselves with the objects of Orientalism, thereby complicating notions of difference.

My research on identity and interconnectedness contributes to the field of global early modern studies through its interdisciplinary, pan-Mediterranean approach and by showing how works of this time period dismantle atomized notions of identity, of male and female and of Christian and Muslim. I further call into questions notions of periodization, revealing how Sosa and Cervantes displace notions of home by negotiating their identities in disparate environments. While stereotypes of the time period hold the Spanish early modern as a time of strict homogeneity and conformity, this was far from the case. The examination of the self that these two authors undertake reveals the intricacies and dramas of identity that Spaniards held prisoner in North Africa faced. By situating these two authors as nodes in a network, I make inroads into a reconsideration of the self and the body in this era, as my implementation of postcolonial theory reveals its usefulness, but also its shortcomings with regard to the early modern era. For example, Edward Said conceives of Orientalism as a one-way street: what the Orientalist "says about the Orient is . . . description obtained in a one-way exchange: as *they* spoke and behaved, *he* observed and wrote down" (160). Yet in this study I am arguing for the reverse—that the East spoke within the selves of the Spanish, themselves "othered" through the process of captivity. Because of Cervantes and Sosa's sustained contact with alterity, they produce more multivalent depictions of the various types of "others" that inhabit the same space. The power of Orientalism resides in and is produced by the imperial center, according to Said, and not at the margins. To the contrary, I center on Christian Spanish representations of the Islamic East written from the margins—from cold jail cells in a foreign land. They depict an East at once near and far, familiar and foreign.

Both of these authors wrote about and through their captivity, and each work studied is positioned at the edge of Christendom—in Constantinople and Algiers. When Barbary pirates took captive the two authors that are studied in this dissertation, Sosa and Cervantes were inserted into new networks of being and forcibly removed from their home circles, an experience that exposed the fragility of their Spanish identities. Considering specifically Christian captives in Ottoman lands, I explore how captives engaged with these very social paradigms, oftentimes undermining and questioning societal constructs of identity. The circulation of people and of ideas in the early modern was heightened through these Mediterranean networks of pirates and captives, but was also mitigated by infrastructures such as the Inquisition and Maghrebi political structures. Thus, I view the Mediterranean as a space of shifting senses of identity, a liminal interzone of Christian, Muslim and Jewish intermingling that ultimately was shaped by competing political and religious agendas. I conclude my dissertation by reconfiguring and recasting chronology to show how the past fully inhabits our present, and how the widening of the notion of "home," of local geography in the early modern, allows us to look beyond just Spain towards a multicultural and mutlivalent Mediterranean experience.

NEXUSES OF REPRESENTATION

A jumbled cosmopolitan mix of people and ideas, sixteenth-century Algiers and Constantinople were meandering metropolises of indigenous and foreign inhabitants, characterized by a striking diversity that was, at least in part, a result of the trafficking of humans. But Algerian and Turkish early modernity contrasted sharply with ideas of post-Reconquista and pre-Enlightenment Christian Spain. In a time of great religious

persecution, heightened by the Spanish pogroms of 1391 against the Jews, their eventual expulsion from Spain in 1492, and the expulsion of the Morisco population in 1609, few places could have challenged Spanish Christian paradigms as fiercely as Muslim Europe and North Africa. The figure of the Turk, one of the era's most ubiquitous and "dangerous" Others, "was used to create normative visions of Christendom and Christian identity, visions that arguably shaped the way that all outsiders or Others were created in both the medieval period and subsequent periods" (Lampert-Weissig 10). Indeed, "Spanishness" in this temporal context was asserted according Catholic norms that sought to eradicate traces of Moorish, Islamic and Jewish history, and to position itself against the Counter Reformation and Protestantism, another dangerous set of "othering" that arose from within Christianity itself. An emergent early modern national sense of being "Spanish" hinged on a perceived Iberian ethnicity that could be tied to the Peninsula, one that found its deepest sense of meaning in its Gothic and Roman heritage. But while medieval and early modern Spanish religious and government authorities tried to fashion a Catholic homogeneous sense of self in order to protect its interests as a nation, texts such as the ones analyzed in this dissertation reveal this monolithic Spanish identity as a myth.

In a post-9/11 society, in which religion is conflated with race or ethnicity, and considering today's permutations of Christian/Islamic tensions it has become increasingly important that, as academics, we do not simply write off the past, removing it from our present. Instead, current political rivalries and religious conflicts reveal that the medieval and early modern are "the name[s] of a repeating transhistorical pressure whose phenomenality renders later temporalities nonidentical with themselves in ways that facilitate a multiplicity of (political and other) uses" (Heng, "Holy War" 424). The past is synchronous to our present, yet scholarship on the early modern period, and particularly

in the case of Spain, has hitherto neglected to connect the dots between these temporalities. In contesting these periodizations and instead leaning towards a concept of "deep time," as Geraldine Heng would have it, we open the door for scholarship on modernity's multiplicities. Thus, I incorporate "modern" or post-Enlightenment theories to show how current theoretical models help to solve the problem of how to conceive of human subjectivity in the early modern era. I posit that indeed we can define race, gender and religion using recent scholarship on affect, performance and masculinity, but only by situating these theories within their historical and cultural contexts to reconfigure them for application in sixteenth-century Spain.

To do so, I trace how ideologies were shaped and transported into other spaces using sociological network theory. Hannah Wojciehowski explains how during the early modern, humans increasingly came to represent and be a part of various social circles. Group identity, she explains, is defined by what it is presumed not to be, or rather, it is not another group, but instead an attempt to define itself against another community: "It is essential, then, to pull social networks into the foreground to study possible alterations of individual *and* group subjectivity . . . and to examine them in broader context" (11). Over a hundred years ago, the sociologist Georg Simmel viewed society itself as a complex entanglement of loose, fuzzy groups that at times overlapped, what he called "social circles." Simmel observed that social circles are characteristic of modern society. An individual might come to represent, indeed connect, multiple groups, and multiple group affiliations are, as Wojciehowski argues, characteristic of the Renaissance. Charles Kadushin describes a network as a set of relationships between objects or nodes, between which ideas, love, power and ideologies interchange (14). They are conduits that contain flows of commodities, people and thoughts, and through Cervantes and Sosa's captivity we see how attitudes created at home were put to the test and grafted on to unfamiliar

situations. Network theory also allows us to situate Spanish literature within a global context, to understand it within the skein of cultural engagements and webs of modernity.

I consider the works studied in this dissertation to be emblematic of an open system grid, characterized by a "small world" network, which allows us to see the inherent cosmopolitanism of this geographical area. Indeed the ability to connect with other parts of the world with spontaneity and randomness was due to burgeoning technologies of travel in the early modern. These reroutings such as captivity, for example, indicate a high cosmopolitanism or connectivity, as all that is required for a "small world" to exist is simply knowing a few people outside of one's immediate group affiliation. In this type of organization, one node, one person, is linked to all the other knots in a given network by a relatively small distance (Kadushin 28). When the Spanish empire came into contact with the Ottomans, new nodes were forged between individuals and also between groups. Corsairs, responsible for the capture of both Sosa and Cervantes, created new networks of contact and "rewired" the Mediterranean in spontaneous ways. They tore these early modern Spaniards away from their homelands and away from their networks of kinship and community. I therefore locate Cervantes and Sosa as points of contact between Spain and its peripheries, between ideas of "home" and the foreign.

Network theory helps to explain how identity is forged and breeched, and I build upon this notion using affect theory to show how these authors create an affective network of potentiality within the confines of imprisonment. I reiterate that the body should figure into a discussion of trauma and affect, rather than focusing solely on discursive formulations of trauma. In doing so, I demonstrate that affect can be passed between bodies in order to consolidate a social network. Affect theory, with its foundations in theories of Gilles Deleuze and Baruch Spinoza, also finds its roots in

trauma theory. Trauma studies were first utilized to study early modern Spanish literature by Garcés in her monumental *Cervantes in Algiers* (2002). I move beyond this framework to show how corporeality and subjectivity enter into discussions of interconnection by incorporating a discussion of the somatic in the study of captivity. Ruth Leys has argued for a renewed attention to the body in regard to trauma, to show how affect becomes a "corporeal-material process" (11). Affects are an unconscious intensity experienced in the body; they are the language of corporeality (Shouse para. 5). Furthermore, these affective forces have the potential to move between bodies, and my use of network theory allows me to consider how these affective unfoldings of life create potentialities of identity. This approach reveals that Cervantes and Sosa displayed an acute awareness of the early modern Mediterranean's networks, of the ebbs and flows of information, identity and interconnectedness.

Affects can also be understood as a swirling energy, a force that can be transmitted between bodies. As Kathleen Stewart in *Ordinary Affects* (2007) describes, "they pick up density and texture as they move through bodies, dreams, dramas, and social worldings of all kinds," flowing in "an animate circuit that conducts force and maps connections, routes, and disjunctures. They are a kind of contact zone where the overdeterminations of circulations, events, conditions, technologies, and flows of power literally take place" (Stewart 3).[1] Put differently, affect is the "perception of one's own vitality, one's sense of aliveness, of changeability (often signified as 'freedom')" (Massumi, "Parables" 36). When vitality and aliveness are at risk, such as in the case of captivity, these two states and their absence become palpable. Just as confrontation with the other helps to define the self, when one's freedom is at peril does liberty become a

[1]These contact zones are wholly reminiscent of Mary Louise Pratt's "Arts of the Contact Zone" Profession 91 (1991): 33-40. Web.

central focus of contemplation. The liberty to, for example, move within these early modern Mediterranean human networks, to deal in and negotiate with affective energies is at risk. Because of pirating, Cervantes and Sosa become partially or completely detached from their home sets and join the ranks of another social circle or geography. This detachment becomes an affective force in Sosa and Cervantes' forging of interreligious and interracial connections, so patently evident in these works.

Affect differs from feeling and emotion in that it is a pre-subjective, pre-discursive force that operates independently and beneath the threshold of consciousness, "a non-conscious experience of intensity; it is a moment of unformed and unstructured potential" (Shouse para. 5). Affects further differ from personal feelings in that they are not biographical, nor are they linguistic. Instead they are a force within an experience or circumstance that functions below cognition and lacks intentionality. Nor can affect be fully represented in language, as it is always prior to consciousness. Instead, it is the language of the body, a reminder of the primacy of the corporeal: "Because affect is unformed and unstructured . . . it can be transmitted between bodies" (Shouse para. 12). And whereas trauma can lead to paralysis, because of its potentiality, affect has the ability to cause action, to cause reactions in the form of emotions or physical states. In his plays, Cervantes attempts to put words to affect, to fill in the blank space between cognition and emotion or outward displays of sensation. This is a difficult task, surely, and one that is in theory impossible to achieve. Yet this is the function of these works, as I see it–to retroactively narrate, to perform, the effect of captivity not just on the psyche but also on the body, to find the language to describe the unthinkable. And since the Cervantine texts I study are dramas, not prose or poetry, their ability to *affect* the audience is amplified in a manner that is unique to live performance. When these two captive-authors returned to Spain with these tales, fictional as they may be, of families

torn apart, priests murdered, and scandalous interracial love affairs, upon hearing them their Inquisition-minded audience likely experienced a collective affective response. Cervantes, and Sosa as well, emphasizes not only the effect on the captive himself, but also recognizes the *affect*, the experience of the viewers and readers, and uses this intensity to galvanize a sense of Spanishness and national identity that counterpositions itself against the Ottoman Empire while also emphasizing its geographic and cultural similarities.

In exploring the affective contours of Cervantes and Sosa's writings of captivity I find that feelings of isolation are pervasive. Due to the separation caused by the physical change in location due to captivity, a sense of longing and a need for human connectivity arises. Affect, feelings and emotions support human survival in the direst circumstances. And due to their imprisonment, cast upon them by these works was a widening net of both detachment and connection. Within liminal spaces of indetermination such as captivity, encounters and bodily transfers of affect, gender and potentiality unfold. Cervantes and Sosa invoke affect in Algerian captivity's abstraction—it is not just the act of being kidnapped, of being enslaved or of living in a foreign land, nor is it simply an emotion such as desperation and hopelessness. It is the compilation of all of these modalities, and in its abstraction as well as in its physicality does captivity become an affect. In recompiling these elements like a puzzle, Cervantes and Sosa bind together emotions that are real yet simultaneously virtual, along with semi-fictional story lines to connect with their audience on a basic human level. A "corporeal-material process," as Leys would have it, affect moves beyond the anti-intentionalism of trauma, although it shares in that quality, to form a more corporeal realization (11). In the case of these two authors, we can only speculate on their authorial intention, a fact that can be frustrating in the study of their life and work. However, affect theory doesn't concern itself with

questions of signification, and so in this sense critics can begin to breathe a sigh of relief; it is not simply the "meaning" that a work of fiction or art may have for the audience, but rather its affective draw or tug on the subject, as affect functions below meaning and ideology. Questions about the intention of a work fall aside, and instead we can wonder about the affective impact on the audience, reader or subject, a fact most appropriate for early texts in which authorial intent isn't always made clear.

The value of these four works does not lie simply in their ability to *affect* the reader, but instead in the author's probable intention to galvanize a sense of Spanish national identity or collectivity that is not isolationist. The theater as a space of collective response, or affect, functions for Cervantes as a unifying force in this sense. Furthermore, in this time period Spain is also attempting to create a sense of national identity with a foundation firmly rooted in Christian theocracy. Religious expulsions and warfare are two ways that the Crown attempted to forge this solidity. But through affect and potentiality, Sosa and Cervantes also show that consolidation in the form of cultural identity and homogeneity is impossible given the expanding networks of the Mediterranean. This "affective cohesion," as Peter Coviello would call it, forges ties between Spaniards, but also between the nations, races, cultures and religions of the Mediterranean: "To the degree that the nation is imagined as, precisely, an affective collectivity—a republic consolidated by a specifically affective mutuality which invests its citizens—then a capacity for impassioned feeling will, of necessity, be a prerequisite for national citizenship" (453). But beyond a nationalist mutuality, by interpolating the love stories in both *Los baños* and *El trato*, for example, Cervantes open the door for the possibility for an affective mutuality or cohesion between not only one's home network, but also that of other groups. Irigoyen García writes that *Los baños* "underscores the quandaries of creating a 'pure national culture' in early modern Spain, exposing the

pastoral mode as a vehicle for articulating Iberian anxieties over cultural sameness and difference" ("La música" 45-46). Thus, the potential for detachment and re-inscription is not only a trademark of Cervantes and Sosa, but on a larger scale it also becomes increasingly characteristic of the early modern Mediterranean.

Current scholarly interest in border crossings, identity formation and cultural contact has focused on today's questions of migration and the tenuous relationship Spain maintains with Northern Africa. Yet little has been written about the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the early modern's strikingly similar cultural and literary dynamic, a fact that makes investigations of this sort particularly urgent. The problem of how to engage with identity at is most fundamental levels requires a careful questioning of terminologies of the self, and in doing so in this dissertation I will consider notions of subjectivity, phenomenology and what it means to be human on its most basic level. These two men and their literary products become nodes in a widening early modern social network, and thus my study situates Spanish literature within the larger tangle of time and chronology. Importantly, both of these authors chose writing as a means of coping with the trauma of their religious captivity, yet neither presents Islam in the same fashion. At times these authors present the Muslim "other" according to early modern Spanish stereotypes—lustful, vengeful, and devilish—yet poignantly these authors overwhelmingly affirm a common sense of humanity in spite of differences of race, religion and nationality.

ARTICULATIONS OF SELF AND OTHER

It is impossible to mention the captivity of Cervantes without considering Sosa. Not only did they inhabit the same jail cell, María Antonia Garcés records that Sosa was

in fact Cervantes' first biographer, in addition to being his close friend and confidante while captive together in Algiers (*An Early Modern* 39). The fact that Cervantes writes only fiction, whereas Sosa creates a supposedly objective work of non-fiction, makes this an important case study of the way that two men with similar experiences of Algerian captivity write the Muslim other in opposing literary genres. Cervantes, the Golden Age playwright and novelist, frequently includes Muslim and Morisco characters in a corpus including plots that often take place in the "Orient," that is, in North Africa and Turkey. Sosa, a Portuguese theologian, responds to his captivity with Cervantes in a different manner, spending his time in a dank Algerian jail writing an ethnography of North African life and customs. Both authors chose the act of writing as a method to relate the circumstances of their imprisonment, and were able to turn horrific experiences into a productive opportunity. Yet because of the generic differences between their respective literary creations, Cervantes writing fiction and Sosa creating a purportedly veridical and encyclopedic work, these two authors represent contrasting Iberian perspectives.

The three Cervantine plays I have chosen to analyze are all distinctly understudied. *La gran sultana* takes place in Constantinople (at the time the seat of the Ottoman empire) and is the story of a young Spanish Christian woman held captive in the harem of the Sultan. Scholarship on this particular play is sparse in comparison to that of Cervantes' other works, perhaps because it was never performed in his time, was published only a year before his death and is considered to be more indulgently fantastical than his other plays. *El trato* was probably the first play Cervantes ever wrote, is possibly his first major literary work of any kind, was published immediately after his return to Spain from Algiers, and was possibly used to raise money to free other Christian captives. It depicts multiple perspectives of the horrors of captivity through the use of more than a dozen characters in vignettes that reflect various facets of human bondage.

Similarly, *Los baños* also explores the theme of captivity in Algiers but is written towards the end of Cervantes's life and more closely conforms to the "comedia nueva" format as outlined by Lope de Vega.

My first chapter considers Cervantes' two Algerian captivity plays, *El trato* and *Los baños,* and the way that Cervantes situates his characters in another way of life no longer connected to a sense of "home." I use affect and social network theory to show how Cervantes creates an affective network of potentiality within the confines of imprisonment, and I further enter into a full consideration of the way that the body figures into a discussion of trauma and affect, rather than focusing solely on discursive formulations of trauma, as I mentioned above. Instead I show how affect can be passed between bodies in order to consolidate a social network. But although these plays portray an East that is barbaric and torturous, Cervantes reaffirms his characters' shared humanity, moving away from an Orientalist binary and towards an early modern Mediterranean cosmopolitanism. Interactions between Cervantes' humans are not done by already-constituted subjects, but rather by those in a state of becoming, by people in indeterminate zones that are similar to the liminal the spaces that they inhabit. Affects are of a social nature, and this is a defining characteristic of Cervantes' captivity plays, which I argue function to galvanize a collective sense of empathy for Spanish captives while also expanding the early modern Mediterranean's social networks beyond the familiar.

I continue my argument for a new conception of the body and corporeality in this time period in chapter two by showing how in the sixteenth century gender and religious identity were conceived of as the "real," rather than sex, as contemporary theories hold. This line of thought again challenges a discursive sense of the self, and in my second chapter on Cervantes' *La gran sultana* I show how for his characters gender is the ontological, and the body and sexuality become a social sphere of meaning. I deconstruct

post-enlightenment theories of gender identity and performance to argue for a return to the somatic, for viewing the body as a site of flux, and I then venture into notions of hybridity that also challenge postcolonial theories of identity while also reconfiguring them for the early modern in order to demonstrate their usefulness. I show how sexual exchange mediates racial relations, and how differences of identity are rendered inessential and incidental through gender play and religious crossings. Butlerian gender theory holds that an individual socially creates his or her own version of male or female, that gender is a social temporality, something one *does* but not something one already *is*. But Butler constantly emphasizes "real" identities when she speaks of drag as that which you are not, as opposed to subversive performances of identity (such as going in drag), whereas I show how in the early modern period the human body was believed to be capable of conversion depending on the space in which it inhabits, for example, of conversion by way of spending time amongst a religious "other." Using Thomas Laqueur's *Making Sex* (1990) and Peggy Phelan's attention to temporality in gendered performance, I read backwards in a manner that is sensitive to epistemological differences of time and space. I argue for viewing and understanding the body as something that is capable of taking on different meanings depending on its surroundings. Through the use of performance theory, in this chapter I show how Cervantes genders the Orient through a simulated Turkish backdrop, but I move beyond simply grafting Saidian Orientalism onto Cervantes to instead argue for an early modern Spanish brand of Orientalism.

Switching then from the genre of drama to instead an attempt at factual writing, I uncover in my third chapter how in the *Topographia*, Sosa fashions Algiers against Spanish religious, gendered and racial paradigms. Sosa's only published work, the *Topographia* is a three-part volume that brings to life the Mediterranean port city and

provides an uniquely detailed account of quotidian Algiers. He is interested in peculiarities such as women's fashions, childrearing and house décor, as well as in documenting more general descriptions of Algiers' ramparts, the city's foundation and governmental structure, its inhabitants and neighbors, and even their "virtues" and "vices." But while Sosa is, on the one hand, expounding the many intricacies of Algerian daily life, he also writes his *Topographia* as a guidebook for Iberian Christians so that they may understand and eventually dominate their geographic and religious neighbors. Because of this overtly political motive, the *Topographia* is an appropriate counterpoint to Cervantes, whose goal was, patently, literary success and an artistic outlet for his many life experiences. Sosa purports objectivity in his study, a strategic endeavor to intensify the danger that Muslims, Moriscos and corsairs represented to early modern Spaniards. By creating a lineage of gendered paradigms that begin in the medieval and stretch into Sosa's early modern reality, I show how the body is again capable of bearing the weight of being the primary marker of identity. Bodily difference was paramount in the transmission of masculinity, and Sosa sets the Islamic male body apart from his Christian male sense of self by strategically locating the Muslim as the other. I examine how Sosa seems to only be able to understand Muslims within a 'fixed' Christian cosmology, a closed system in which there is no room for alternative visions of masculinity. Yet ultimately, although Sosa's goal is to orientalize and degrade Islam he also presents an alternative conceptualization of Muslim masculinity to his Spanish audience, one that is not based on Christian military norms.

Sosa participates in a discourse of the Orient in the way his narration and descriptive geography of Algiers serves to map out an entire region, whereas Cervantes concerns himself most with a Western, materialist discourse of Islam. In this sense, these authors, two sides of the same coin, contribute to the emergence of an early modern

Spanish Orientalism. Just as Orientalism is not a monolithic theory of otherness, so too does this dissertation reveal the heterogeneity of early modern Spanish identity and its various articulations throughout the geography of the early modern Mediterranean. Leah Middlebrook characterizes Spain in the sixteenth century as:

> . . . a particular threshold — we might consider it the "early" early modern — during which the country's subjects and perhaps especially its ranks of elites adjusted to a new national identity: Spain under the Habsburgs ceased to be a self-contained peninsular kingdom dominated by Castile and became a seat of a pan-European and incipiently global empire. Surprisingly, perhaps, one aspect of accommodating this shift was accepting a profound revision in the ways in which relationships between masculinity and nation, masculinity and letters . . . were conceived of in the social and cultural imagination. (143)

Society, no matter the time period, is composed of bodies in proximity to other bodies, and Cervantes and Sosa's first-hand relations of captivity become a testimony to the way that our body can relate to others. The ability for people to detach and re-inscribe is a testament to the fact that the body is not a preformed unified entity, but rather composed of many kinetic, moving elements, defined by dynamic interactions. The corporeal exchange of affect/feeling/emotion in these works occurs due to the widening of contact zones and the expansion of networks in which bodies transmit this force, allowing exchange to occur more freely and amongst increasingly disparate groups. Through my study of affective networks in these two authors, we begin to understand how the field of interaction between bodies produces variation. Cervantes and Sosa write the "East" as the other side of the same, the inside as the outside. Their explorations of Spanish identity that take place in Islamic captivity, away from one's homeland, defamiliarize relations between self and other such that these categories themselves become deterritorialized, they fall into the "fold" and unleash a potentiality of identity that is not necessarily bound by geography or nation.

Chapter 1: Affective Networks and the Human in Cervantes' Algerian Captivity Plays

Cervantes' two Algerian captivity plays, *El trato de Argel* (1581) and *Los baños de Argel* (1615), directly relate to each other in their overlapping themes and characters. Indeed, Cervantes essentially rewrote and adapted *El trato* when composing *Los baños* twenty-four years later. In the first telling of the story, Cervantes reflects on questions of free will in spite of captivity, and in recasting it as *Los baños*, Cervantes adheres to a stricter format more akin to Lope's *comedia nueva* (Rey Hazas, "Cervantes" 126). In these two plays unfold the lives of captives and captors alike, as well as a distinct common humanity transmitted and interconnected because of an increasing early modern Mediterranean propinquity. The net that Cervantes casts across the Mediterranean Sea evokes human emotion, appealing to an Iberian reading public and live audience who could, perhaps for the first time, be exposed to the stories of those taken captive by Barbary pirates. But Cervantes' dramas of life in Algiers are more than simply a representation of captivity. Rather, they are an incarnation of it, an attempt to understand the experience of Algerian bondage by not simply attempting to elicit an emotional response by the audience, but also by immersing them in the experience. On a larger scale, Cervantes invites the viewer to have an embodied, corporeal experience by enveloping his characters, virtualities of his imagination that are symbolic of a real political crisis, in trauma. Emerging out of bodily and cultural contact, from love, lust, disgust, imprisonment and freedom, is an affective assemblage of the experience of captivity, held together by a large array of Algerian and Spanish characters, captives and captors. From the basket of theories that I am complicating in this dissertation, in this chapter I will address more substantively how Cervantes creates an affective social network in these two captivity plays, a network made up of bodies that transmit a

common humanity in spite of the horrors of religious warfare. The transmission of stories of captivity from periphery to center, from Algiers to Madrid's playhouses and beyond, mirror the emerging human social networks of the early modern, which increasingly forged linkages that served to expand human geography.

Affects are embodied moments or states that are experienced in the body, a materialized corporeality. In his introduction to Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*, Brian Massumi clarifies that affects are not personal ("Notes" xvi). Using Deleuze, Guattari and Spinoza, Eric Shouse calls affect "the body's way of preparing itself for action," and explains that since "it is unformed and unstructured . . . it can be transmitted between bodies" (para. 5, 12) The body in this time period is of central concern, as dramas of identity often played themselves out on the early modern Spanish stage. In the streets, tales of slavery and corporeal bondage were wildly popular in this time period, as many other stories of corsairs and pirates circulated throughout Europe. In Spain in particular, the publication of *Cautiverio y trabajos* by Diego Galán, a prisoner from 1589-1600, as well as of the *Topographía e historia de Argel* by Cervantes' close friend and confidante, Antonio de Sosa, captivated the Spanish and may explain part of the interest in these two plays in particular. Undoubtedly, some of the most concrete contributions that these plays provide are factual details about the real experience of Algerian imprisonment, as well as the illumination of some of the ethnographic intricacies of this time and space. By writing these tales of captivity and displacement, Cervantes attempts to locate himself within a plane of shifting coordinates, to orient the experience of an early modern Spanish captive in an increasingly polyvalent Mediterranean. Within zones of indetermination like the bustling port city of Algiers, we accompany Cervantes' characters in an exploration of the psyche and the way that trauma both brings us together and sets us apart. These zones contained bodies in absolute states,

either in shackles or in freedom, but were also filled with those whose bodies occupied more liminal spaces, such as renegade Christians, slaves who could leave the *baños* to work during the daytime, and even Christian corsairs.

Composed immediately upon his return from captivity in Algiers, *El trato de Argel* was written between 1581 and 1583 and is probably Cervantes' first major work (Garcés, *Cervantes* 11). Pamela Peek regards it as a first step and a starting point in his literary corpus, whose import cannot be understated (41). He uses the plural form of the title when referring to this work in his prologue to *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses*, and therefore the play is often referenced using the title *Los tratos de Argel* as well.[2] The play takes place over four acts and features more than thirty characters. There is hardly a discernable plot, but the main storyline focuses around Aurelio and Silvia, two upper-class Spanish captives who were betrothed to one another in Spain and who find their fates reunited as slaves in Algiers. The slave masters of Aurelio and Silvia, Zahara and Yzuf, respectively, fall in love with their Christian captives, creating an interracial and inter-religious love triangle. Cervantes also interpolates tales of Christian male captives in the slave quarters, and in each instance trauma tests the spiritual faith and bodily resilience of these Spaniards. We similarly bear witness to the gut-wrenching tale of a Christian family who has been captured and tragically torn apart in the slave market, the children and parents being sold to distinct owners, as well as to Muslims falling in love with Christians, and to Spanish men whose bodies are languishing.

The four acts of *El trato* are divided into dozens of vignettes such as these, small peeks into each of these captives' lives which allow Cervantes to tell a multifaceted story

[2]*El trato* was not originally published in this volume. Rather, he makes reference to this work in his prologue to these plays when he credits himself for representing on the Spanish stage "los pensamientos más escondidos del alma."

of captivity in Algiers, and not just from a Spanish Christian perspective. The fragmented, episodic nature of this play lends a distinct lens through which we can understand early modern captivity. Likely the first play by Cervantes to be performed, *El trato* "relies upon the audience's knowledge and sometimes on their personal experience for its full effect" (Stackhouse 14). Because of the wide web it casts and the surprising relationships that blossom in the midst of bodily difference, rather than violating the unity of the work its scattered plotlines in fact lend to examination using network and affect theory. By showing the effect of pirating on families, children, men and women, Cervantes is able to appeal to a wider audience, to nodes within many different early modern social networks. These vignettes, albeit disjointed from the other plots, function as a cracked mirror, reflecting the violent nature of the corsair campaigns from a variety of angles.

Los baños de Argel (1615) can be seen as a continuation, a refinement perhaps, of *El trato*. Although the plot line of *Los baños* is arguably a bit more compact, just like *El trato* it recounts various story lines that function like cultural snapshots and similarly presents a multifaceted version of life in sixteenth century Algiers. As the *comedia nueva* began to be refined in Spain after publication of Lope de Vega's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* in 1609, we see Cervantes also moving closer to this style in this play, evidenced by, chiefly, a greater sense of geographic and temporal unity. Stackhouse explains:

> Seventeenth-century spectators accustomed to the artifice of Lope de Vega's drama, which by 1615 had become the standard of excellence, usually expected that the number of actors in the cast would confirm to the number of characters in the play and that all of them would be accounted for at the conclusion of the work. (22)

This work takes place over three acts, as Lope instructs, and explicitly deals with themes of honor in the format of a *tragicomedia*. Stanislav Zimic contextualizes *Los baños* within the scope of the *comedia nueva* and finds that Cervantes goes beyond even these techniques, "utilizando ingredientes episódicos y, sobre todo, una técnica de representarlos, según él, nuevos, revolucionarios, sorprendentes para cualquier público teatral. El deseo cervantino de superación se hace evidente ya por el subido número de intrigas en la obra" (144).

This play begins on the coast of Spain with a surprise corsair attack and a number of villagers are taken hostage. Among them are the lovers Constanza and Don Fernando, who are joyfully reunited in Algiers, just like Aurelio and Silvia of *El trato*. Later we are introduced to the Muslim Zahara, who lives under her wealthy father's rule in Algiers and, like the Spanish characters, longs to live her life in Christian Spain. She seduces the captive Don Lope through the grate of his small jail cell, slipping him money and love letters, and concocting and facilitating a wild escape. But this relationship aside, generally speaking this play also abounds with Christian-Muslim distrust and name-calling, and features a decidedly anti-Semitic Sacristan who spends most of the play tormenting a Jewish man. As I mentioned, this play can be understood as a reworking of many of the themes first explored in *El trato*. One storyline that is particularly reminiscent of the plot of this earlier work is that of the Viejo, a father who loses his sons to different slave owners. Even more tragic are their fates: one of his sons converts to Islam, changing his name and style of dress accordingly, and the other is lost to crucifixion for refusing to convert. Again, the characters of *Los baños* struggle with similar psychological distress as those of *El trato* and we, the audience, bear witness to a slurry of emotionally damaging events that take place around the fairytale romances of the main characters.

Similar to its predecessor, *Los baños* contains an exhausting list of characters. In fact, like the actual Christian captives in a Muslim world, it comes to represent a sort of intermediary itself, as the play brokers an exchange between Cervantes' other works and shares plot and character elements with its predecessor *Don Quijote* (1605), particularly in the storyline of the good Muslim woman who wants to convert to Christianity, in this instance called Zoraida. One cannot ignore the Zahara/Zoraida continuum in Cervantes's canon, as Judith Whitenack notes in her 2003 study: "Cervantes seems to be experimenting with . . . the same figure, a descendant of the *bele sarrasine*" (64). And just as in *El trato* (and *Don Quijote*), *Los baños* tells of interracial or interreligious love between captives and Muslim masters, a motif common to Cervantes in particular. In each of these representations of interfaith romance, Cervantes emphasizes bodily difference as a marker of identity. In the case of *Don Quijote*'s Zoraida we see this when she refuses to shed her Muslim garb even while traveling through Spain. But in *Los baños*, Cervantes accomplishes this mirroring in the theater, adding a visual element to corporeality and costuming otherwise alluded to in his narratives.[3]

While these two plays physically parallel themselves, disagreement about the function of these overlapping tales abounds. Joaquin Casalduero briefly remarks that in *El trato* "se destaca constantemente la idea de oposiciones: Argel-España, venganza-juicio, dolor-fe, muerte-vida" (242). I agree with Edward Friedman, who rightly examines the mirroring techniques that exist in the two plays by focusing on the changes that occur as Cervantes' story evolves from one play into the next. He contrasts the two works by arguing that *El trato* is "predominantly literary and figuratively evocative in its treatment of captivity," whereas *Los baños* "relies less on poetic devices and works

[3]Differences are not just relegated to bodily coverings, however, as Cervantes spotlights bodily difference between male Christians and Muslims with regards to the act of circumcision (II.413-16).

toward a visual representation of the Algerian prisons" (32). Nonetheless, as Friedman goes on to argue, both of these plays present the reader with parallel, although at times juxtaposing, structures. For example, in *El trato* the separation of the two young boys, Francisco and Juanico, from their parents mirrors the separation of the lovers Silvia and Aurelio in Act I. In professing this devotion to his slave Silvia, Yzuf implies that love can overcome political or religious loyalties, just as Zahara proclaims that "el amor todo lo iguala" in Act I of *El trato* in response to the Christian Aurelio's mention of their religious divide (I.117).

But whereas the purpose of studies such as Friedman's is to show the stages of development from one work to the other, I believe that we can draw an even larger conclusion from Cervantes' persistent insertion of parallels and mirroring, one that goes beyond simple dramatic strategy and perhaps indicates Cervantes' desire to create parallels on a larger scale, between Algeria and Spain: For example, that a Muslim might initiate an affective relationship with a Christian, and that the Muslim Yzuf expresses his love in the Spanish courtly tradition further creates a nexus between these two lands and cultures.[4] Indeed, these ties exist not only in the love between them, but also in how Cervantes conveys it. Furthermore, *Los baños* even begins in Spain during a surprise attack by Muslim troops along the Spanish coast, before Cervantes resituates the plot across the sea. In this opening act, the Muslim corsairs take captive a father and his two sons, along with a sacristan and the lady Costanza, and sail with them back to Algiers. Moving between these two sides of the Strait, these plays and their characters, fictional as they may be, become highly symbolic of a network of people and movement that made up the early modern Mediterranean.

[4]Yzuf, Aurelio's slave master, "allud[es] to the service of love in the courtly tradition" when he admits to being transformed into the "esclavo de mi esclava" (Friedman 38).

And mimicking the intricate web of interconnection and divergence that these characters embody are the labyrinthine roads of the Algerian medina. Renegades and Jews, who occupied the lowest rung of sixteenth century Algiers' social networks, joined early modern Christians and Muslims in Algeria. Curiously, despite his perceived "convivencia" elsewhere, Cervantes makes little space for plot lines involving Jews in these captivity plays, and when they are on stage they are normally representing a comedic scene (Caravaggio 130). Javier Irigoyen García similarly examines the important role of another minority social network, that of the Morisco in Cervantes' Algiers. He notes that although the word "Morisco" never appears in *Los baños*, many of these characters might actually be *cristianos nuevos de moros*, and that the function of the play may have been to delegitimize the expulsion of the Moriscos. This contrasts with *El trato*, he argues, which has a more explicitly propagandistic purpose:

> Para los moriscos de *Los baños*, cautivados y llevados a Argel, este no es el lugar donde poder renegar abiertamente del cristianismo, como proponían los apologistas de la expulsión, sino que experimentarán, a la inversa, idéntico proceso de persecución y pérdida de identidad que acababan de sufrir en España. ("El problema" 433)

Cervantes the Spaniard deftly represents the geopolitical reality of life in early modern Algiers, assembling "una representación completa de la realidad argelina, desestabilizadora y crítica" (Ohanna, "Lamentos" 141). For the first time, Spanish audiences were confronted with the reality of Algerian captivity, whose Mediterranean geography was well-known by the early modern Spaniard, as Bunes Ibarra explains: "Cualquier español de la época conocía el nombre de sus puertas o la disposición de sus defensas. En el teatro y en la literatura del Siglo de Oro es uno de los lugares que más veces se menciona, y del que podrían hablar personas que nunca lo habían pisado" (62). In fact, not only was the geography familiar to the early modern Spaniard, but so would

have been the flora and fauna. In Act I of *Los baños*, a swallow flies above Zara and Don Lope during one of their romantic trysts. Mayrica Ortiz Lottman astutely points out that the swallow is a migratory bird that winters in Africa and spends the summer in Europe, representing another being that physically bridges the divide between these two lovers and between Cervantes' audience and his Algerian experience. In her exploration of the theme of the garden in *Los baños*, Ortiz Lottman further reminds us that Islamic gardens would have been familiar to contemporary readers because of their prominence in areas such as Toledo and Andalusia (352). The garden, commonly associated with the feminine, is explicitly evoked in reference to Zahara. Zahara's fertility and femininity is reminiscent of the myth of Eve in Eden, as Zahara resides in her father's garden, which "links her to the Virgin as an expression of the life force that began in the sea," a sea which Zahara hopes to cross in her quest to become a Christian (Ortiz Lottman 361). And Zahara isn't the only character that has the ability to span both Christianity and Islam, as not only are renegades such ash Yzuf intermediaries between cultures, but so also is the niño Francisquito who is killed because he refused to convert to Islam. In his crucifixion and burial in Agimorato's garden he is linked to Christ, further intermingling religion and dissolving political boundaries. Indeed, according to Enquire Fernandez, the political message of the plays was to inspire charity in the Spanish Christian audience, a message that becomes most fervent with the martyr of the young Francisquito (13).

Interminglings and interconnections such as this allow the reader to ponder life in Algiers, and also permit Cervantes to reconsider Spanish politics. Ahmed Abi-Ayad takes this argument even further, proclaiming that in his captivity plays

> Desde allí contemplaba [Cervantes] la España decrépita y hostil. Su drama personal como cristiano nuevo en una sociedad intolerante, su familiaridad con el Islam en medio de un espacio cultural abierto y vario le incitaron a manifestar su admiración hacia todos estos valores musulmanes. (15)

Antonio Rey Hazas, on the other hand, vehemently argues for the "preeminencia de lo español y de los españoles sobre todos los demás, máxime, claro está, sobre moros y turcos" in Cervantes' captivity plays, concluding that the tolerance and compassion characteristic of Cervantes in the *Quijote* "adolece de una fisura en estos textos dramáticos sobre el cautiverio" (36, 34). However, the amorous relationship between the captives and their captors of *El trato*, according to my view, allow for an inversion of social relationships in a manner that situates the Christians and the Moors on the same plane. Rey Hazas agrees to some extent, but instead finds that this inversion still exalts the Christians and renders the Muslims inferior (47). While I do not disagree, I am not convinced that this fact undermines what I see as an overarching intention by Cervantes to, as I mentioned, reconnect and rewire the relationships between Spanish and Barbary, Christians and Muslims. In this sense I also disagree with Stanislav Zimic, who reduces relations in *El trato* and *Los baños de Argel* to religious essentialism: "la caracterización de los personajes responde principalmente a su fe religiosa: casi todos los cristianos son buenos y nobles, mientras los moros o renegados son malos e innobles" (184).

THE SOCIAL NETWORK

Corsairs create the networks most profoundly examined in Cervantes' Algerian plays. But before the corsair economy tore these early modern Spaniards away from their homelands, humans, being social animals, came into contact through networks of kinship and community. A network can be defined as a set of relationships between objects or nodes, between which ideas, love, power and ideologies pass (Kadushin 14). They are conduits that contain flows. In this case, I consider Cervantes' characters, and even the physical plays themselves, as nodes in an inter-Mediterranean network. Over a hundred

years ago, the sociologist Georg Simmel viewed society itself as a complex entanglement of loose, fuzzy groups that at times overlapped, what he called "social circles." Simmel observed that social circles are characteristic of modern society. An individual might come to represent, indeed connect, multiple groups, and multiple group affiliations are, as Hannah Wojciehowski argues, characteristic of the Renaissance:

> . . . medieval group affiliations were characterized by a concentric structure . . . a person might simultaneously belong to a village, town, or city . . . guilds, armies, and other organizations. . . . men and women could affiliate with larger groups without becoming alienated from their affiliations with their original localities. . . . Simmel contrasted these concentric group circles with the nonconcentric circles of the postmedieval world. These, he argued, were characterized by "juxtaposed" and intersecting patterns of group affiliation, which created through their conflicting demands proliferating possibilities of individuation. . . . the European Renaissance fostered more individuated forms of social organization, not only because that more complex society consisted of a considerably larger number of subgroups but also because these groups were no longer organized in concentric fashion. (21)

When the Spanish empire came into contact with the Ottomans, new nodes or points of contacts were created between individuals and also between groups. Spain had already experienced contact with the East due to its nearly 800 years of Muslim rule, but even after the Catholic Monarchy's toppling of Granada and the expulsion of the Moriscos, Spain's people increasingly experienced exchange with Muslims and Ottomans due to maritime activity and corsairing. Garcés similarly uses the language of networks and social articulations to describe sixteenth-century Algiers as

> . . . a universe where communications appeared to be fluid, where conversations and encounters between the Muslim and Christian sides seemed quite free. The consequences of these interactions cannot be underestimated for Cervantes. This great fluidity of information and circulation of human beings is an essential element for understanding the early modern period and its actors in Algiers. (81)

Increasing encounters with alterity in the early modern generated cognitive dissonance on a global scale, and also contributed to the rapid acceleration of hybridization. Belonging

to a group while simultaneously breaching it allowed for the construction of new nodes and linkages amongst the social networks of the Mediterranean, for new identities in widening spheres of geography. In this case, the nodes within these Cervantine webs represent a Mediterranean geography of exiled Jews, Eastern European Christians turned janissaries, renegade corsairs with slippery pasts, and Ottomans residing in Algiers. By including characters as varied as these, Cervantes moves the discussion away from strict borders, *fronteras*, of geography and identity and more towards a notion of permeability and transformation.

The relationship that links two objects or nodes in a network might be unidirectional. It might have a symmetry (or a mutual flow), or the relationship could require an intermediary node. And even though much of this early modern contact was spontaneous and sometimes fleeting, it is not the strength of the ties that is necessary for the exchange of affect, but rather the existence of them. This points to what is the sociologist Mark Granovetter coined "the strength of weak ties," which helps to consolidate a social system, without which "subgroups that are separated by race, ethnicity, geography, or other characteristics will have difficulty reaching a modus vivendi" (Kadushin 31). By focusing on weak ties instead of strong ones, it is possible to analyze the linkages between groups, not simply among them. Weak ties are further established between Cervantes himself, his plays and their characters (more abstractly), and the audiences in the *corrales de comedias*, whose sympathy for the captives he was hoping to ignite. Cervantes operates under the presumption that the tales of families torn apart, of Spaniards whose families refuse to pay to free them, will inspire the audience members to reconsider their own complicity in the matter, and perhaps even to spread the word within their own networks.

In a sociological sense, the kind of network typified by Cervantes' works is an open system network, in which "the boundaries are not necessarily clear" (Kadushin 17). The network of the Mediterranean in fact reaches far beyond the coastal cities and towns bordering the sea and therefore it is impossible to contain it within a clearly defined area. A "small world" network is one type of open system and the one that I propose is evident in this situation, which maintains that everything is eventually connected to everything else. Like Wojciehowski has begun, a "rewiring" of the early modern Mediterranean is in order, one that allows for connections between neighbors near and far, for jumping across the middle of a network rather than having to travel through nodes sequentially to get to the other end. And as opposed to, for example, Saidian Orientalism, which holds that Islam and Christianity are locked in an unending clash of civilization, using small network theory allows us to see the inherent cosmopolitanism of this time and space. Indeed the ability to connect with other parts of the world and with distant individuals in an increasing randomness due to burgeoning technologies of travel in the early modern, for example, indicates a high cosmopolitanism, one that is characteristic of this time period. All that is required for a "small world" to exist is simply knowing a few people outside of one's immediate surroundings. In this type of organization, one node is linked to all the other nodes in a given network by a relatively small distance (Kadushin 28). Cervantes himself, and his characters, forcibly, randomly, come in contact with new people, new languages, and new religions because of the effects of captivity, and thereby create their own cosmopolitan open networks.

As the number of connections increase in a social network, so does transitivity. Kadushin reminds that transitivity is the mathematical concept that holds that if A is connected to B, and B is connected to C, there is a connection also between A and C (23). Connections between people occur when they share membership in a community, and

communities become linked when there is at least one person in common. I apply this mathematical concept to show how transitivity causes overlapping clusters of communities, such as Christian, Muslim, Spaniard or Turk, shrinking but at the same time widening Cervantes' alliances and relations to include far-flung social clusters. And an increase in propinquity, being in the same place at the same time, increases the odds that nodes of a network are likely to be connected. Certainly this is the case with Cervantes, his characters, and Antonio de Sosa in relation to Algerians, Turks, renegades and corsairs. That these renegades, corsairs and local citizens have connections with other regions through their own life trajectories shrinks the size of the Mediterranean world in a manner that easily connects an early modern Spaniard, with, say, a captive renegade Jew in Venice.

In Fernand Braudel's geography of the early modern Mediterranean elaborated in *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1972), we can find two disparate networks, that of East and that of West, dominated by contrasting and conflicting empires, the Ottoman and the Spanish:

> The two halves of the sea, in spite of trading links and cultural exchanges, maintained their autonomy and their own spheres of influence. Genuine intermingling of populations was to be found only inside each region, and within these limits it defied all barriers of race, culture, or religion. All human links between different ends of the Mediterranean, by contrast, remained an adventure or at least a gamble. (135)

Indeed, Braudel does affirm the close ties between the Strait of Gibraltar and North Africa, making the Mediterranean more of a channel in this area, rather than a sea. "The sea does not act as a barrier between the two great continental masses of Spain and North Africa," writes Braudel, "but rather as a river which unites more than it divides, making a single world of North and South" (117). Using what social network theory has shown about the "strength of weak ties," Braudel's closed circuits of "a certain number of

contacts, alliances, and relations" within this confined space instead are revealed to widen the very network itself, one with an almost limitless expanse (136). Even just a few contacts between the Ottomans and the Christians, from Venice and Naples to Oran and Madrid, widen the Mediterranean beyond an established, limited geography. Conversely, if corsair activity were as ubiquitous as Braudel and others would have us believe, then the sheer number of weak ties is almost unintelligibly large. Again, it is not the strength of these ties that is of import, but rather simply their existence.

Andrew Hess in *The Forgotten Frontier* (1978) argues the exact opposite of Braudel, that early modern Mediterranean contact between Christian Iberia and the Ottomans was characterized by an increasing divergence, rather than the unity that Braudel stresses. Long before brigantines and galleons wove their way across the Mediterranean to connect lands near and far, the sea itself linked the lands around it, geographically and ecologically. But, as Hess remarks, soon the people bordering these waters would reject the unity of their land, dividing themselves into separate and sometimes warring civilizations (1). Whereas Braudel underplays the divisions lurking between Christianity and Islam in order to argue for Mediterranean unity, Hess states, simply, "the separation of the Mediterranean world into different, well-defined cultural spheres is the main theme of its sixteenth-century history" (3).[5] Yet, as Hess himself would argue, advancements in maritime technology created a closer-knit world economy, even though he claims that these changes magnified the differences between the members of this network (7). Hess' work directly counters Braudel, arguing that the two empires,

[5]Hess attributes this lack of attention to Turkish affairs on Braudel's part in the following manner: "But modern Turkish historians were in no position to accomplish overnight what their European colleagues had taken centuries to do. Limitations imposed by time and sources, then, compelled Braudel to rest his account largely on examples drawn from the experience of Latin Christendom. Thus a geographical framework that was culturally neutral and an archival research that was predominantly European merged with Braudel's concern for cross-cultural economic and social phenomena to attenuate the theme of diversity" (2).

Christian and Ottoman, sought precisely to affirm divisions, geographically, politically and religiously. But neither of these two frameworks fully grasps the nuances of the early modern Mediterranean experience that Cervantes so deftly portrays in his captivity plays.

Yet Cervantes' tales of interreligious interminglings, of border crossings and religious hybridity contest Braudel's assumption that these two halves of the Mediterranean, East and West, were so vastly different, or that there were even two halves at all. The Iberian network sewn together by these plays extends backwards towards the *corrales* of Madrid, from periphery to center, but also towards the mother colony of Constantinople, the geopolitical center for Algiers and the central node in this network. Through changes of scenery, Cervantes reminds the audience of the reach of these dramas by placing the action in Algiers itself, or in Spain during a pirate attack. In doing so he transports the audience into situations that are both foreign and familiar. *Los baños* opens as Yzuf, a Christian turned Muslim renegade, and Cauralí, his Algerian captive, gaze upon a Spanish coastal town from its mountainside. They plan their attack carefully so as not to be caught, and rely upon the knowledge of a former Spanish citizen to coordinate their attack: "Nací y crecí, cual dije, en esta tierra, / y sé bien sus entradas y salidas / y la parte mejor de hacerle guerra" (I. 10-13). In this scene, Cervantes figuratively represents the palpable concern of so many early modern Spaniards that Moriscos and renegades endangered society, as they could penetrate Christian social networks stealthily, or as Yzuf does, participate in attacks on Spain itself.

In Cervantes we see the beginnings of a social network, one organized around geographic and religious clusters, or circles, and that contains people on both sides of Braudel or Hess's Mediterranean. But social life is messy, as Kadushin reminds, which brings us to the problem of the penumbra, or

> . . . the extent to which there are clear boundaries within society. With instituted groups or organizations the boundaries are fairly clear. We think we know who is a member of classroom x or organization y or even kinship group or moiety z. But if social life is conceived to be a skein or chain of relationships of potentially infinite regress—that is, a network—where do we draw the cut-points? (123-24)

Furthermore, as Kadushin elaborates, there is never one single network connecting nodes or vertices. That there is a softness or blurriness around clusters or circles may be a problem for statisticians but in fact represents reality. Simmel viewed society itself as a complex entanglement of loose, fuzzy circles that at time overlapped, what he called "social circles," chains and knots of connections weak and strong that widen and become increasingly indistinct in the early modern. Moriscos exist on the fringes of these clusters, the fuzziness of their social circles amplified by the fact that Spanish society prevented them from occupying a proper space in its definition of early modern "Spanish-ness."

The activity of corsairs and the markets of human bondage during the late medieval and early modern made this type of small world network possible. In the sixteenth century, the diminutive Strait of Gibraltar became a zone of contact between Christianity and Islam, marked by epic sea battles motivated by a manic Christian necessity to continue Ferdinand and Isabel's campaign against the Muslims. These years were punctuated by Spanish victories in the North African coastal cities of Oran and Tripoli, among others. But of course, while pirating was one of the main sources of income in cities such as Algiers, Christians engaged in privateering as well. Garcés declares that although Christian privateers were few in number and are to this day poorly documented, they did similarly engage in human trafficking and often used Algiers as a base, the city becoming "the apotheosis of privateering" (*Cervantes* 31).

Since privateering was one of the primary sources of income for sixteenth century Algiers, it amounted to undeclared and nearly constant warfare between the Christians and the Ottomans. Braudel defines privateering as "legitimate war, authorized either by a

formal declaration of war or by letters of marque, passports, commissions, or instructions" (*Mediterranean* 866). This was a popular sentiment, one made patent by Cervantes' characters who complained that it was up to the Spanish crown to save them, but that the government was not doing nearly enough. Garcés further clarifies that "as opposed to pirates, who launched operations on their own, robbing those who came into their view, the privateers were backed by letters or passports from a particular government or state, although they sailed at their own risk and gain," such as the character Mamí, the corsair in *El trato* (*Cervantes* 29). A corsair was the individual that, with this letter of permission, led a fortified vessel, whereas pirates were essentially outlaws, stateless and lawless. But privateering wasn't exclusively a religiously motivated endeavor composed of conflict between Christian and Muslims. In fact, Garcés herself goes on to elaborate that the *ponentini*, Western corsairs in the Levant, attacked Turks and Christians alike, and that French and Venetian corsairs robbed Christian ships throughout the Mediterranean (30). Instead, privateering and corsair activity during Cervantes' time was usually a city's militia acting by its own volition. In this sense, privateers widened the closed Mediterranean networks of east and west that Braudel famously relies upon.

VIRTUALITIES OF AFFECT AND TRAUMA

The presence of "turcos" in these plays reminds us that Algeria at this time is an Ottoman outpost, *sancak* (or province), a heavily fortified coastal city protected by the Empire through janissaries and turning the city "into an inexpugnable nest of corsairs" (Garcés 23). Furthermore, Algiers was also the setting of a devastating loss by Charles V in 1541, a moment which is alluded to by the character Saavedra himself in *El trato,* As

both Leonardo and Saavedra voice their desire to be freed by the king's forces, they are reminded of Spain's failed attempts to tame corsair activity and definitively control the region,

> Cuando llegué cativo y vi esta tierra /
>
> tan nombrada en el mundo, que /
>
> /… /
>
> Ofrecióse a mis ojos la rebera /
>
> y el monte donde el grande Carlo tuvo /
>
> levantada en el aire su bandera, /
>
> y el mar que tanto esfuerzo no sostuvo, /
>
> pues, movido de envidia de su gloria /
>
> airado entonces más que nunca estuvo." (I. 396-407)

But it was the resounding defeat of the Ottomans at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 that would reenergize Spanish seafaring in the Mediterranean, and where Cervantes would also lose use of his left hand. Cervantes' capture at the hands of the Turks came four years later, in 1575, on his way back to Spain from military service in Naples, an event that, as has been well documented, inspired much of Cervantes' writing. In Algiers, where he would finally end up, Cervantes lived alongside Antonio de Sosa in the *baños*, as I describe in chapter 3.

María Antonia Garcés in *Cervantes in Algiers* (2002) was the first to consider how Cervantes' captivity tales were not simply historical fiction, but rather representative of the author's own, real life experiences of Algerian captivity, which resulted in a fragmented psyche. For the first time, Garcés uses trauma theory to consider how Cervantes' imprisonment could have psychologically affected his literary output. Trauma

theory, which Garcés implements in the monumental *Cervantes in Algiers*, has evolved over the last decade and merged with what is now understood as affect theory. Garcés thus initiates the conversation of Cervantes' interiorities, and how the psychological effect of his five-year captivity is mapped onto the page. She finds that Cervantes re-experiences his trauma repeatedly in the form of fragmented flashbacks that take the form of literature, that he writes his trauma in an attempt to represent it. Garcés views the effect of trauma in Cervantes' work as, despite its horrific nature, a force that ignites a creative literary spark. Initially, trauma theory emerged initially from Holocaust studies and its survivors. The Italian Primo Levi, Holocaust survivor, chemist, essayist and poet, described ceaseless repetitions and reenactments of his eleven months of captivity at Auschwitz. Like Cervantes, the spontaneous and seemingly unavoidable nature of his trauma made his time spent as a captive difficult to process. And thus because trauma, due to its arbitrary nature, has no beginning or end, Garcés reminds that it is repeated and reenacted. The subject of trauma, in this case Cervantes, is unexpectedly and unforeseeably removed from any sense of reality. This ejection from reality means that trauma has the ability to fully inhabit the present, even when it is "in" the past.

The connection that Cervantes forms between the audience and these plays' actors, who represented his trauma in a live setting, was made possible because of the space of the theater and the utopic possibilities it presents.[6] When Garcés speaks of Cervantes' split psyche, she refers to the number of characters in his plays whose tragedies mirror his own. Julia Domínguez similarly understands the area of the theater as an imaginary space in which Cervantes gives free range to the characters that emerge from this self-fragmentation (2). But this metaphor of splitting (or of recompiling, as I see

[6]For more on the utopic possibilities of the theater, see Dolan, Jill. "Performance, Utopia, and the 'Utopian Performative.'" *Theatre Journal* 53 (2001): 455-79. Print.

it) can also extend to include Cervantes' audiences, whom he invites to join in his human, bodily trauma through the use of affective language. The audience is, literally and figuratively, captivated in the *corral de comedias*, encapsulated in the assemblage of captivity's modalities in a manner that is unique to live performance. Yet these plays are not quite *comedias*, as they generally fall heavily on the side of tragic drama, thereby creating a shared tragic experience between the audience, the playwright and the actors. Their plot split amongst dozens of characters, the individual traumas told in *El trato* and *Los baños* gain a distinctly collective characteristic, such that the boundaries between writer and reader, listener and storyteller, are dissolved. We bear witness to this trauma, just as Cervantes himself did in Algiers.

Dori Laub, a Holocaust survivor and Clinical Psychiatrist, finds that "For the testimonial process to take place, there needs to be a bonding, the intimate and total presences of an *other*—the position of one who hears" (Laub 70). This allows for a compassionate response among the audience, and for the victim to externalize his/her recollection of events. But beyond the affective ties that bound, the real social ties that were strung between Spain's theatergoing and reading audiences further amplify the communal nature of theater. During the performance of the play, the bridge between the minds and bodies of the actor, of the playwright and of the spectator become inexorably bound in an affective network of trauma, terror and empathy. In studying the cognitive dimensions of empathy, Cory Reed concludes "In *El trato de Argel*, Cervantes appeals to this obligatory interdependence by creating a strong sense of group identity in his audience that encourages empathy and action" ("Empathy" 20). The spectator experiences feelings, emotions and affects that he or she would not otherwise, and enters into an affective mutuality with the other audience members and the play's characters. Cervantes facilitates this encounter between survivor and listener, allowing for a

collective testimony not only by his many characters but also on behalf of Spain itself. He splits his psychological life into the cast of his play, virtualities of his imagination, figures and tropes that permeate every network of the early modern Mediterranean—captive, captor, kin, renegade.

As the practice of telling and retelling is performed, the role of listener and teller becomes one in the same because of affect's ability to move between us, ignoring the arbitrary limits of our beings and linking us as one humanity. We, modern-day readers of an early modern tragedy, become fully bound and complicit in this tale, unable to stop these characters' suffering but viscerally aware of the ties that bound us to our fellow humans, brothers and sisters. Just as Laub effectively diminishes the gap between audience and author, the impact of transmitting trauma in a live setting reveals how affect's magnetic forces pull us toward one another. Especially and particularly in the case of *El trato*, the audience becomes the other, feels the other. No longer passive spectator, Cervantes' contemporary readers and viewers are enlisted as actors, their own agency called into question. This same phenomenon occurs whenever we witness a live performance. Despite Cervantes' incessant allusions to bondage and entrapment, despite captivity's attempt to contain his being and to eliminate his unique sense of self, and no matter trauma's ability to stop time and obfuscate reality, affect as a pre-linguistic, pre-discursive force is undeniable. Where trauma undoes, affect reaffirms.

It follows, then, that Cervantes' obsession with the theme of captivity can be understood as an attempt to understand and comprehend his lived experiences. Desperate to relay these stories to his Spanish networks, Cervantes likely wanted his contemporaries to empathize, to understand and sense on a corporeal and psychological level the historical reality of Barbary captives. But before Cervantes published these two dramas, he composed the *Información de Argel* (1580), in which he made a written testimony to

the Spanish government detailing his time in captivity. This document, notarized by local authorities and portrayed as truthful, provides an encounter between Cervantes, survivor, and "The listeners to and readers of these statements . . . [who] not only literally shared Cervantes's traumatic experience; they also partook anew of the event through their listening to Cervantes's testimony and their corroboration of it in their own declarations" (Garcés 116). Cervantes, messenger and storyteller, bridges the Strait of Gibraltar physically and in a literary sense: The *Información* can be understood as a first or intermediary step in his psychic processing of the event, his initial attempt at recompiling the past. Garcés contends that the *Información* served to ensure his problem-free repatriation in Spain as well as to begin to tie together the broken threads of his trauma. This testimony serves as an attempt to clear his name, and Cervantes emphasizes that doing so represents a momentous act. Speaking in the third person he proclaims, "Miguel de Cervantes . . . dice que: estando él ahora de camino para España desea—*y le importa*—hacer una información con testigos" (Sola 4, emphasis added).

If the *Información* represents the first stitch in the reweaving of his life story, then the plays figure into his biography as a literary representation of the affective assemblage of captivity, of the way that trauma left its mark on his inner sense of self. By writing these plays, Cervantes dramatically represents the fragmentation of his psyche into dozens of overlapping characters, invoking a kaleidoscopic image of the early modern Mediterranean and life in Ottoman Algiers. He relies upon the physical, temporal, literary and psychological elements of captivity—its affect—to connect with his contemporary audiences. In these plays, affect also serves to appeal to the empathy of his fellow Spaniards and connect with an audience composed of family and friends of captives, as well as the redeemed themselves. The collective testimony of captives was, for the first

time, brought to the Spanish stage, forming an important social bond in early modern Spain amongst those *oyendo la comedia*.

As Ruth Leys hints, trauma theory has been modified to give renewed attention to the body in recent years, such that it has been "reconfigured in corporeal terms without reference to the linguistic-deconstructive approaches that have previously held sway" (6). In reaffirming the body as the site of trauma, we see how central the corporeal is in the swirling of feelings, emotions, and affects.[7] Instead of Garcés traumatic fragmentation, I believe that we can also view Cervantes' captivity plays as an ode to embodiment, an affirmation of the corporeal in spite of identity's fracturing. The body becomes "the exclusive site of the traumatic experience, with the consequence that it is the body that now records what the mind is unable to 'claim' or bear in trauma" (Leys 7). If we accept Garcés' contention that trauma created a splintering of Cervantes' psyche, and I do, then affect theory and its turn to corporeality allows us to venture beyond an abstract sense of suffering and instead towards a bodily, material process. I view the act of writing for Cervantes as an attempt to piece together the shards of his psyche, to recompose his body after its traumatic doubling and reaffirm his humanity, his materiality.

If affects, and trauma, are intangible energies, unable to be fully represented in the symbolic order of language, we might wonder how an author is to evoke this through the written word. The torture they endured, the trauma that Garcés and the audience sense in these works, are, nonetheless, abstractions, representations that Cervantes attempts to write and convey in the life of a Christian captive in Algiers. But in the end, affects must rely upon a pre-linguistic affective tug, one uniquely experienced by humans, to express

[7]I use these three words—feeling, emotion and affect—synonymously. While some have gone to great lengths to differentiate between them, Brian Massumi in particular, I find this argument better suited to another venue.

the horrors of the *baños*. This is accomplished when, for example, in contrast with the elegant soliloquies of the captives in isolation, much of this play's dialogue is reduced to utterances such as "perro" and "cristiano," as semantics are, too, inadequate and instead distilled down to primal explosions of few syllables that have maximum impact. Garcés similarly describes the use of pidgin speak in these plays; the truncated phrasing and brash, bastardized Spanish emphasize torture and death (147). Language reduced to sound only further reveals that affect can arise from an assemblage of modalities, not just words and phonemes arranged in arbitrary sequences that contain a symbolic meaning. When a Christian in *El trato* is apprehended in an attempt to flee, his punishment is lashings on the back, and then another 500 on his stomach and feet. In this scene we are faced with imagery, not only words: "¡Atalde, abrilde, desollalde y aun matalde," screams the King (IV.2352-3)! Cervantes' stage notes read: "Átanle con cuatro cordeles de pies y de manos, y tiran cada uno de su parte, y dos le están dando; y, de cuando en cuando, el *CRISTIANO* se encomienda a Nuestra Señora, y el *REY* se enoja y dice en turquesco, con cólera: 'Laguedi denicara, bacinaf; ¡a la testa, a la testa!'" (Act IV).[8] Affect, put into words, become emotion. But in grueling corporeal moments such as this, or when language fails, affect remains. And so, as Garcés insists, since trauma is impossible to represent, Cervantes relies upon fantasy and a fundamental sense of human empathy to motivate his audience.

Cervantes as traveler, soldier and captive displays an awareness of the Mediterranean's networks, of the ebbs and flows of information and identity. His decision to base so many of his works around the experience of captivity and the experience as life as an outsider cue the reader in to his profound understanding of human

[8]"Laguedi denicara, bacinaf; ¡a la testa, a la testa!" translates loosely to "¡Ha, cornudo cristiano! ¡Córtale la cabeza! ¡Sí, la cabeza, la cabeza!" (Rey Hazas, *El trato*, footnote 33).

interconnectedness. As we will see in chapter 2, in *La gran sultana* as in this case, interactions between Cervantes' humans are similarly not done by already-constituted subjects, but rather by those in a state of becoming, by people in indeterminate zones that are akin to the liminal the spaces that they inhabit. Within these zones, encounters and bodily transfers of affect and potentiality unfold and we begin to understand how the field of interaction between bodies produces variation. Cervantes' explorations of Spanish identity that take place in Islamic captivity, away from one's homeland, deterritorialize relations between self and other such that these categories themselves become defamiliarized; they fall into a sort of fold, the other side of the same. Cervantes thus unleashes a potentiality of identity that is not necessarily bound by geography or nation.

That we are never fully constituted individuals, a logic which Cervantes seems to follow by situating the negotiation of identity within a disparate environment, shows that the self as a given is a fiction. Rather than portray his characters and humanity as flat, distinct and wholly containable, Cervantes affirms that one can never be reduced to any singularity, "Before we are fit into distinct species or strata or classes, we thus compose a kind of indefinite mass or 'multitude,' just as before 'major' standards or models of identification or recognition, we each have our 'minorities,' our 'becomings'" (Rajchman 81). This "multitude," or multiplicity is not to be mistaken with diversity, Rajchman warns, but rather there exists a prior potentiality, a prior life force that unites us without abolishing singularity.[9] Cervantes' characters, able to slip back and forth between religions, genders, identities, shows how humans can "relate to ourselves and one another in a manner not subordinated by identity or identification, imaginary or symbolic" (Rajchman 82). Life, full of multiplicity, becomings or potentialities (also understood as

[9]This concept bears many similarities to Appiah's Cosmopolitanism.

"virtualities"), is composed of occurrences, waves that are indefinite but singular. These moments or flows precede our consciousness and us. The unfoldings of life, of an early modern Spaniard's virtuality, show how captivity is highly symbolic of a sort of "becoming" in that it displays how life never has a fixed starting and end point, but instead allows for the shifting and complication of identity due to life's twists and turns.

Prior to identity, then, is the body, the human. In the innate structures of the body, before consciousness, we find affect and its forces. Cervantes narrates affect through his memories of the corporeality of being held prisoner. Indeed writing, too, is a corporeal experience, as Probyn argues (210). Cervantes writes through his body, writes other bodies, hoping to produce a change in the bodies of his readers and audience. Affect incites action, which begins with the body and its movements. When Don Fernando climbs to the top of a cliff at the beginning of *Los baños de Argel* and peers over its ledge he does so in an act of despair, having been torn from his lover, Costanza, by the surprise corsair attack. "Subid, ¡oh pies cansados!;/ llegad a la alta cumbre," he commands his feet, his body (I.176-7). His suffering leads him to jump off of the cliff into the ocean, where the invaders finally capture him. When he is miraculously reunited with Costanza in Algiers during the second act, he cannot believe his eyes: "¿Juzgo, veo, entiendo, siento? / ¿Este es esfuerzo, o temor? / ¿No están mirando mis ojos / los ricos altos despojos / por quien al mar me arrojé? / ¿No es ésta, que el alma fue / la gloria de sus enojos?" (II.49-55). His love for Costanza is described in corporeal terms, in a sentient manner that credits these affects with his decision to hurl himself into the sea in a fiery fit of passion:

> Más ¿qué remedio, amor, hay que no enseñas /
>
> para el dolor que causa tu agonía? /

Uno sé me enseñaste, de tal suerte, /

que hallé la vida do busqué la muerte. /

El corazón, que su dolor desagua / por los ojos en lágrimas corrientes, /

humor que hace en la amorosa fragua /

que las ascuas se muestren mas ardientes, /

el cuerpo hizo que arrojase el agua . . . /

Arrojando las armas, arrojéme /

al mar, en amoroso fuego ardiendo. (II.858-71)

Don Fernando's affective decision-making expresses itself in his bodily actions, and when he is reunited with his love he finds affect to be life affirming. This vitality of feelings and emotion emerges out of potentiality, of an affective space of captivity and love within these corporeal confines. Unlike the shackles that bind his body, affect reminds him of his humanity and the limitless nature of his being.

Much of the affect inscribed into these two plays by Cervantes is described in a corporeal nature, whether it be love or despair, and importantly crosses racial and religious boundaries to also affirm the potentiality and vitality of the Muslim characters. Zahara of *Los baños* (who, admittedly, wants to be a Christian) speaks of the way her sadness makes her human, "Y estúvemele mirando, / y, entre otros muchos que lloran, / también estuve llorando, / porque soy, naturalmente, / de pecho humano y clemente; / en fin, pecho de mujer." (II.118-23). Don Fernando similarly describes the way affect arises in his body, causing his heart to skip a beat when he sees Costanza has been taken captive: "Saltos el corazón me da en el pecho; / falta el aliento, el ánimo desmaya. / Llévame más despacio." (1.107-9). We also sense love and desire in both Zahara and her husband Yzuf of *El trato* towards their respective slaves, even though Aurelio attempts to

negate the humanity of his captors when speaking with his compatriot Silvia in Act III, reducing the Muslims to a status not even worth of humans, "Cómo os ha ido, esposa, en esta ausencia, / en poder desta gente que no alcanza / razón virtud, valor, almas conciencia?" (III.1607-09). Nonetheless, human interconnectedness, transmitted via affect, is reasserted by the character Zahara of *El trato*, who explains to her maid, Fatima, that "El amor todo lo iguala" (II.115).

Just like when one's sense of identity comes into question and is reaffirmed or disavowed because of the presence of the other, when one's humanity is undermined (such as in the state of captivity) does its lack or absence become even more prominent. The body being of primary import in the early modern, and as sex was often seen as primary to gender, a focus on corporeality and bodily difference or alikeness is not surprising with the context of these two plays.[10] And although some Christian characters freely disregard their interconnectedness with Muslims, Cervantes dehumanizes Christians as well. In the second act of *El trato*, Muslim merchants examine the newly arrived Christian captives. Francisco, Juan and their parents are displayed on the slave market for the slave masters to examine their skin and teeth, as well as their overall bodily composition. As the two children are separated from their parents in a gut-wrenching scene, Cervantes appeals to his audience's own affects, such as pity and sorrow. "¿Hay quien compre los perritos, / y el viejo, que es el perrazo, / y la vieja y su embarazo?," implores the auctioneer (II.871-3). The youngest son wonders aloud "¿Qué es esto, madre? ¿Por dicha / véndennos aquestos moros?" (II.879-80). "¡Oh amargo y terrible punto, más terrible que la muerte!," the mother cries (II.885-6). After a bidding war the prisoners are examined for their health. The young boy's mouth is opened so the

[10]See chapter 2 for an analysis of early modern philosophies of sex and gender.

buyers can check his oral health. After being deemed fit he is sold, but refuses to leave his mother's side. His mother, however, encourages him to do so, justifying "que ya no eres / sino del que te ha comprado" (II.923-4). He underlines these uniquely human emotions despite the dehumanizing effects of captivity, perhaps in an attempt to incite the pity and pocket change of his audience, as Enrique Fernandez has suggested.

But even though Cervantes finds a way to connect the Muslim and Christian characters through their shared (in)humanity, a corporeality displayed most prominently by affect and its potentialities, we also bear witness to the way that his characters exaggerate and focus on bodily differences. In Act I of *Los banos*, a prison guard inquires to the character Carahoja, "¿este no es / español?," to which Carahoja responds, decisively: "¿Pues no está claro? / En su brío no lo ves?" (I.549-52). Oftentimes characters, both Muslim and Christian, refer to their counterparts by their religion, such as when Halima calls Costanza simply "cristiana." In moments such as this, Cervantes essentializes his characters, reducing them to fundamental markers of identity, such as Spanish or Muslim, reinforcing the imaginary dividing lines between identity and the body. But one category of humanity that is the recipient of most every character's ire is the Jews, who are presented in a pathetic manner. The old Jew of *Los baños* begs the polemic Sacristan to cease tormenting him to work on the Sabbath: "A compasión me mueve. / ¡Oh gente afeminada, / infame y para poco! / Por esta vez te ruego que le dejes." (II.409-12). The Sacristan relents, reluctantly: "Por ti le dejo: vaya / el circunciso infame: / mas si otra vez le encuentro, / ha de llevar un monte, si le llevo" (II.413-16).

Similarly, Aurelio of *El trato* fears for the state of his soul, his inner sense of self, when his body is amongst heathens. In an impassioned soliloquy, he calls upon his love, Silivia, to help him resist the temptation to convert to Islam, while also pointing to the primacy of the body with regard to the soul in this time period, "Si tu luz, si tu mano no

me adiestra / a salir deste caos, temo y recelo / que, como el cuerpo está en prisión esquiva, / también el alma ha de quedar cautiva!" (I.289-92). Aurelio worries that his soul (understood in this sense to be synonymous with religion) could go in the way of his body, becoming captive to Islam as well. But later he decides, resolutely, to remain steadfast in his religious commitments, something he implies would be impossible without the loving inspiration provided by Silvia, "Si el cuerpo esclavo está, está libre el alma, / puesto que Silvia tiene parte en ella" (I.309-10).

One of the affects most patently visible in Cervantes' characters is longing, for homeland, for connection, for love. Longing in this instance arises through corporeal indeterminacy due to the experience of captivity and encounters with bodies of the other. Longing works in the body often in contradictory ways: It creates the need for relationships but can also cause one to disconnect or retreat back into the body. Cervantes' captives seem acutely aware that they must forge connections within their own social circles, and at times even outside of them, if they are to survive. Longing, then, incites action in the characters and becomes a collective affect. The contagiousness of affect, its ability to pass from one body to another, "leads us to question commonsense notions of the privacy or 'integrity' of bodies through exposing the breaches in the borders between self and other" (Gatens 115).

Longing serves to orient (pun intended) the drama's actions and dialogue. *El trato* opens with a lengthy monologue by the character Aurelio that is peppered with notes of affect and explicit references to certain emotions, sadness and despair particularly:

¡Triste y miserable estado! /

¡Triste esclavitud amarga, /

donde es la pena tan larga /

cuan corto el bien y abreviado! /

. . .

¡Necesidad increíble, /

muerte creíble y palpable, /

trato mísero intratable, /

mal visible e invisible! /

. . .

Pondérase mi dolor /

con decir, bañado en lloros, /

que mi cuerpo está entre moros /

y el alma en poder de Amor. /

. . .

Pensé yo que no tenía /

Amor poder entre esclavos, /

pero en mi sus recios clavos /

muestran más su gallardía. (1.1-36)

Aurelio's painful description of the state captivity envelops the space of the baños (and of the theater, were it to be performed) in affect. Indeed, he even makes allusions to the in-betweenness of his body ("que mi cuerpo está entre moros") and to the transfer of affect between the captives themselves ("¿Qué buscas en la miseria, / Amor, de gente cautiva? / Déjala que muera o viva / con su pobreza y laceria" (I.37-39)). In addition to longing, Islam and Christianity come into exchange under the contexts of captive-captor but also under the context of love, although like in *La gran sultana* sentiments of love seem to be

unidirectional—from Muslim to Christian, and not the reverse.[11] Aurelio and Silvia are the objects of Zahara and Yzuf's affection, slaves to their own slaves. Nonetheless, the implications of this affection are twofold: first, it depicts Islam as a religion of deviant polyamory, as both Zahara and Yzuf are wedded. Adrienne Martín argues that the more puritan love between Aurelio and Silvia is contrasted with the lustful sentiments of the Moors, who are willing to renounce the tenants of their faith in order to fulfill their perverse desires (9). But this love does not always create a mutual understanding. Fatima, Zahara's servant, wonders if "almas tenéis los cristianos?" and notes that because he is Christian, Aurelio cannot possibly understand love, "Ansí entiene él del amor / como el asno de la lira" (I.169; I.155-56).

El trato stages two love triangles, that of Aurelio-Silvia-Zahara, and that of Aurelio-Silvia-Yzuf. Aurelio considers taking Zahara's hand, but worries that it would offend Mohammed. Zahara's rebuttal to Aurelio's apprehension is similar to that of Calisto in *La Celestina*, in that she renounces her adoration for a religious god and instead worships her lover, "¡Déjame a mí con Mahoma, / que agora no es mi señor, / porque soy sierva de Amor, / que el alma subjeta y doma!" (I.229-32). Eventually Aurelio accepts Zahara's sensual invitation in the fourth act, swayed by the powers of *Ocasión*: "soy tu esclavo" he affirms, remarking upon not only the power of love's spell but also on his physical state of captivity (IV.1768). Even though he agrees to this tryst at the end of the play, he spends the prior acts questioning the implications of loving a Muslim woman. Certainly if he wanted to return home to Spain, these transgressions would not have been tolerated.

[11]It is presumed that Catalina loves the Sultan but at the same time she never explicitly shows her affection, unlike the Muslim Sultan who continually showers her with praise.

The lure of the Muslim woman mirrors the temptation the captives had to convert to Islam, and comingling with her Muslim body would have signified a severe indiscretion, putting in jeopardy one's own Christian self and body. In line with the genre's tradition, however, Aurelio negates Zahara's advances and chooses a lover in accord with his creed, Silvia. As it is widely believed that this is the first play Cervantes ever composed, perhaps even begun in captivity, this might lead us to believe in the actuality of Muslim-Christian amorous relations. Garcés points out that adultery of this sort was common in sixteenth and seventeenth century Algiers, and in fact, many captives took advantage of the sexual freedom offered to them there, choices which were unimaginable in Spain (*Cervantes* 169). Because of interactions such as this, distinctions between self and other, inside and outside, become blurred, a point that Cervantes seems to make over and over again in his dramas of cultural contact. We see this in the way that Yzuf of *Los baños de Argel* expresses his love in the Spanish courtly tradition, creating a nexus between two disparate geographies, religions, cultures and beings.[12] Nonetheless, the character Zahara attempts to dispel these divisions, proclaiming romantically that "El amor todo lo iguala" (I.117). In *El trato*, Aurelio does not accept her words at face value, however. When Zahara asks to take his hand, Aurelio denies this corporeal contact and the possibly affective exchange that could occur as a result.

El trato de Argel contributes significantly to the conversation regarding Spanish religious unity by placing at the forefront the geopolitical reality of Mediterranean conflicts and contacts. As Ohanna finds, Cervantes configures a complex representation of life in Algiers, that is at once destabilizing and critical but also stereotypical in its depiction of cross-religious contact ("Lamentos" 141). Yet despite affect's ability to

[12]See footnote 3.

bridge bodily difference, this caution against interracial or interreligious contact resonates with the fierce clashes between Christians and Moors in this earliest work as well as in its later remake. In *Los baños,* the captives are taunted by their lack of liberty, and waiting for their rescue is torturous. In the second act, an unnamed "Morillo" taunts the Sacristan, "¡Rapaz cristiano, / non rescatar, non fugir; / don Juan no venir; / acá morir, / perro, acá morir!" (II.336-40). The *morillos* are referring to Don Juan of Austria, Carlos V's illegitimate son and Phillip II's half-brother, who fiercely fought against Moorish uprisings in Granada and again against the Turks in Lepanto. They mock the captives' hope that he might return to avenge their capture, just as the captive characters of *El trato* beg Phillip II to "[despertar] en tu real pecho coraje / la desvergüenza con que una bicoca / aspira de conitno a hacerte ultraje" (I.426-8). Both sides of this conflict, Muslim and Christian alike, point out the shortcomings of Spain's royalty in effectively handling this international hostage crisis, as Cervantes implores his audiences to contemplate Spanish policymaking.

But these young boys' raucous yelling match is interrupted by the presence of a Jew in *Los baños*, who the Sacristan recognizes for his corporeal characteristics:

> Su copete lo muestra, /
> sus infames chinelas, /
> su rostro de mezquino y de pobrete. /
> Trae el turco en la corona /
> una guedeja sola /
> de peinados cabellos, /
> y el judío los trae sobre la frente; /
> el francés, tras la oreja; /

y el español, acémila, /

que es rendajo de todos, /

le trae, ¡válame Dios!, en todo el cuerpo. (II.378-88)

Another character of *Los baños*, the Viejo, calls the Jew "afeminada," referring again to bodily distinction between religions. The Sacristan and Viejo, like the anti-Semitic character Madrigal of *La gran sultana* transport their preconceived, Spanish Catholic-centric prejudices to Algiers through movement, travel and captivity. Oftentimes these ideological paradigms were challenged when implemented in disparate cultural environments, such as Madrigal who conspicuously torments the Jewish character and whose complete disregard and insensitivity are portrayed as crass and in direct opposition to the tolerance we see on the parts of the Muslim Sultan. In instances of bigotry such as this we see with what facility not just people found their way around the Mediterranean, but so too were prejudices and ideologies transported alongside. Throughout the play, the Christians and Muslims hurl insults about, calling each other "perro" and mocking each other's religious customs. Most notable is the repulsion with which the Catholics regard the act of circumcision. This bodily act of disfigurement, originally done for hygienic reasons, was practiced by Muslims and Jews and even done into adulthood by Christian *renegados*. In fact, Francisco is killed because he refuses "el circunciso infame," this corporeal change seen as the ultimate sign of conversion. For throughout Cervantes' canon, it is implied that one can change religion through a change of clothes or name or simply through a speech act. But to physically alter the body in the name of one God or another is, with reason, understood to be a permanent transformation. Nonetheless, characters are often referred to by their religion, and not by their name. For example, when Halima asks Costanza "Cómo te hallas, cristiana," she reduces her to a singular

identity, confirming the primacy of religious belief in notions of race and ethnicity. (II.1-2).

Religious confrontations indeed often turned violent, as one of the central ways that Cervantes reaffirms the network between Spain and North Africa is in the depiction of revenge violence against a captive cleric in *El trato*, publicly executed in response to a similar event in Spain. Sebastian relates news of a Morisco from "Sargel," (present-day Cherchell, Algiers) who was killed in Valencia "por justa sentencia" (I.493). This particular character was a Morisco who lived in Aragon, but eventually returned to "Berbería" where he became a corsair who killed numerous Christians, according to the character Sebastián. Eventually the Inquisition took him captive when it was learned that in fact he was a renegade, a Christian turned Muslim. This exact type of slippery character, a false convert, was one of the great fears of post-Reconquista Spain because of their ability to infiltrate Spanish religious society incognito, and also because their political allegiances likely meant that they would sympathize with their North African coreligionists. We can assume that word of the Spanish Inquisition's murder of a captive Morisco-turned-Corsair arrived vis-a-vis the open lines of communication between Spanish moriscos and those that had already fled religious persecution for North Africa, "Al subrayarse el origen español del reo, se exterioriza una conexión entre el problema del corso y la situación de los moriscos en la península" (Ohanna, *Cautiverio* 121). Internal politics become directly related to that of the sea, and the periphery finds its way back to center with great urgency. Sebastián relates,

> La triste nueva sabida /
>
> de los parientes del muerto, /
>
> juran y hacen concierto /

de dar al fuego otra vida. /

Buscaron luego un cristiano /

para pagar este escote, /

y halláronlo sacerdote, /

y de nación Valenciano . . . (I.523-30)

If Cervantes' intention in passages such as this was to contrast Spanish society with ways of life in Algiers, as Ohanna suggests in *Cautiverio y convivencia*, instead both are portrayed as barbaric and vengeful (122). Cervantes seems acutely aware of this vicious game of cyclical vengeance, begging Valencia to make their executions less public so as not to incite their neighbors with public autos de fe, "Usa Valencia otros modos / en castigar renegados / no en público sentenciados; / ¡mueran a tóxico todos!" (I.711-14). The veracity of claims such as these are disputed by the historian John Wolf, who finds that similar revenge acts were "rare and shocking" (155). Nevertheless, it is probable that Cervantes worried for the safety of others currently in captivity, or perhaps worried himself that Spain's Inquisitorial policies were aggravating an already tense situation and imperiling the lives of countless Spaniards.

The increasingly multiplicitous nature of early modern identity finds the captives in *Los baños* and *El trato* cast away from their home networks and forced to create new connections in zones of indetermination such as the *baños* (or slave quarters) and the winding alleyways of the medina. Crossing boundaries and mediating difference becomes a way of life for these characters, themselves drawn to the other Christian captives, as well as to their Muslim captors, through affective force fields that facilitate their survival. Despite the violence detailed above, I find that, overwhelmingly, the early modern Mediterranean is typified by an increasing connectivity, as opposed to separation and distinction, which seems to be the predominant cultural paradigm under which this time

period has traditionally been examined. Cervantes maps affect through these characters, whose familial and social ties, due to captivity's re-routings, stretch indiscriminately wide throughout the Mediterranean geography. His characters' tragedies, echoing his own traumas, exert a pull on his contemporary and modern audiences, performing the intensity of affect and creating what Stewart calls "a tangle of potential connections" in the way that he problematizes and questions notions of race, gender, home and nationhood (4). Cervantes' literature permits him to explore the possibilities of being in the world, of making sense of it. And a large part of his world was the increasing possibility that he, or any of his contemporaries, would come into contact with someone from another place. These plays utilize affect to transmit potentiality and interconnectedness, to stage a polyvalent Mediterranean existence within which the lives of Muslims and Christians alike weave through an expanding early modern geographic social network. In *El trato* and *Los baños*, we bear witness not only to this expanding geography but also to an emergent interiority and corporeality of the author and his characters, one that invites Cervantes' readers and spectators to share in his trauma by enveloping his audiences in a dramatic emotional experience, connecting them with the plight of captives through this shared affective space.

Chapter 2: Engendering the Orient: Cervantes' *La gran sultana*

Questions of difference, of exclusion, of self-fashioning and bellicose political posturing captivated early modern Spanish dramaturges. The countless instances of gender play and religious (in)tolerance in the literature of this era become exceptionally striking when considering the excessively restrictive political and social climate in which they were produced. In particular, Cervantes freely addresses issues of gender, ethnic and religious identity in *La gran sultana*, published towards the end of his life in *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados* (1615). This *comedia*, whose unorthodox structure and whimsy eschew Lope de Vega's *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias* actively undermines preconceived notions regarding the rigid borders of race and religion in the early modern.[13] As a drama (and despite the fact that it was never staged during Cervantes' time) *La gran sultana* packages the near-Eastern Orient of Constantinople, in all its fetishized and stereotypical excess and pompousness, for a uniquely Spanish audience, consumers of the Eastern exotic. In this chapter I pull from theories of identity and Orientalism, as I discussed in my introduction, to examine how Cervantes forges a notion of a gendered Orient that not only disrupts the binary of self/other and male/female but also undermines and even satirizes the stereotypically Orientalized Turkey of the early seventeenth century. Cervantes renders categorical differences of identity as inessential and incidental, and thereby reaffirms his characters' shared humanity in spite of ethnic and religious difference.

Cervantes, the "manco de Lepanto," fabricates in *La gran sultana* an Orientalist fiction around the very palpable rise of the Ottoman Empire, which at the time of the

[13]For a discussion of the structural oddities in *La gran sultana*, which are many, see Castillo, "Ortodoxia;" Smith, "*La gran sultana*;" and Casalduero, *Sentido y forma* (1951).

play's creation struck fear in the hearts of Spain and her people. By placing the negotiation of his characters' identities within the heterogeneous atmosphere of Constantinople, Cervantes simultaneously stages not only the city and its Topkapi Palace but also the construction and the performance of gender and religious identity. If, as Said argues, "the Orient is the stage on which the entire East is confined," how can this metaphor be extended to include dramatic performances in which the referent is Orientalist, such as in *La gran sultana* (63)? Lamentably, while Said's *Orientalism* (1978) is certainly the most influential exploration of this theme to date, his theorization of Orientalism buttresses itself in reaffirming these very binaries that Cervantes challenges. Consequently, strict implementation of Saidian Orientalism is rendered insufficient for analysis of this play, and indeed also at times for the early modern. In order to compensate for this deficiency while nonetheless affirming this play's patently material Orientalism, I will show how Cervantes utilizes classical Orientalist motifs, such as setting and décor, but also moves beyond simple concepts of Us and Them towards a more hybrid, cosmopolitan Mediterranean experience, one that finds its deepest sense of meaning in contact and exchange.

Cervantes' market or material Orientalism exaggerates not only the arbitrary divide between Christian and Muslim, but also and between male and female through the use of gender play. Shifting religious and gendered identities are specifically concentrated around the characters of Lamberto and Catalina de Oviedo. Each of these characters enacts some sort of performance in which their genders become integral to their reception by the other characters, and by the audience. This work is particularly interesting considering that the East is typically considered effeminate in Occidental, Orientalist terms. As artists, authors and politicians objectify the Orient it becomes a spectacle, a "living tableau of queerness" in its otherness (Said 103).

Therefore, I would like to propose building upon Said's concept of artifice, understood in Cervantes to be the simulated Turkish backdrop, through the use of performance theory, which helps clarify the ways in which this artificiality enacts itself upon the characters' fluid identities. Gender in *La gran sultana* enters into a liminal space when it is imitated and questioned by the play's characters, and this uncertainty is parallel to the similarly ambivalent space in which the play is set, the crossroads that was Constantinople. Yet once again modern, Western theory fails to fully explain the phenomena at play in Golden Age Theater. Excessive focus on the *performance* by some twentieth century theorists and ignorance of the corporeal and somatic begins to negate the possibility of the body as a *real*, as a driving force behind the creation of gender. In the world of theater, in which costuming is integral to a character's reception, the body cannot simply be viewed as a shell onto which gendered meanings are applied (as Butler would have it), rather than the transmitter of a cultural code that signifies identity and gender. I will show how we must begin to conceive of the body and sex as a social construct during the early modern period, and gender as an ontological matter, as the "real" (Laqueur 8). This allows us to see how the body becomes a sphere of meaning itself, a differentiation that is key not only to comprehending the role of costuming in the theater, I would argue, but also to the understanding of sex and gender in the seventeenth century.

LOCATING HETEROGENEITY WITHIN AND WITHOUT

Much like today's socioeconomic outlook, as Asia rises and the "West" finds itself again questioning its identity and role in geopolitics, seventeenth-century Spain was embedded in a deep philosophical preoccupation that questioned the very core of

Spanish-ness.[14] A burgeoning sense of nationalism and nationalistic rancor sought exclusivity: The Inquisition functioned to pinpoint and eliminate religious underminings; following in the footsteps of the Jews, the Moriscos were definitively expelled in 1609; and new philosophical questions of race, previously employed only in regard to animal husbandry, shook the limbs of Spain's family trees.[15] Rather than begin with what they already were or hoped to one day be, Spain's first definitions of Spanishness began with what they thought they were not—heathens, Jews or Muslims—and thus was enacted a discourse of state-sponsored, religious-based racism based on Catholic values of evangelism and whiteness. The period consciousness of the Spanish early modern, however, makes little use of *raza* or *race* in reference to human lineage. When it was mobilized it was, of course, conflated and used in a religious-ethnic sense. And although many theorists situate the invention of race with post-Enlightenment scientific discoveries, without a doubt similar systems of racism and racial exclusivity were present in the discourse of Cervantes' Spain.[16]

While a nascent Spanish national identity was being forged in Madrid, the agent of the monarchs, the Inquisition, set about an intense "Christianization" process of the

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[14]Heng in "Holy War Redux" offers an alternative view of temporality specifically in regards to the East-West split, viewing history as a series of repetitions while considering a theory of "macrotemporality" that destabilizes the notion of Western exceptionalism. Considering who inherits a particular cultural identity, Daniel Brook in A History of Future Cities (2013) hints at the arbitrary yet profound intellectual and physical divisions between East and West, and how this chasm has begun to repeat and reiterate itself in the twenty-first century. He contemplates the effect of Asia's economic success and the recent crashes and busts of Western economies (such as the 2007 housing bubble in the U.S. and the 2009 Eurozone crisis), hoping that "as Asia rises, the thinking-makes-it-so distinction between East and West can fade, that we can will ourselves from rivalry and resentment to amity and understanding" (393).

[15]Bruce Taylor examines the role of the moriscos in the creation of an exclusive sense of "Spanishness" in "The Enemy Within and Without," as does Childers in his preface to Transnational Cervantes (2006). For a more profound discussion of race and its philological roots in the Spanish language, especially in regards to animal husbandry, see Margaret Greer, Walter Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan's introduction to *Rereading the Black Legend* (2007).

[16]Beusterien begins to approximate how Golden Age Theater in particular can help reveal the racial undertones of early modern society. See Beusterien, John. *An Eye on Race: Perspectives from Theater in Imperial Spain*. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2006. Print.

rest of the land, destroying local shrines, suppressing local cults and heterodox doctrines and imposing officially sanctioned Christian practices (Childers 12). The theater thus became a public space in which dramas of *honra*, *capa y espada* and divine intervention reinforced but also sometimes subtly undid the hastily bound, paranoid ties of the Counter-Reformation. Cervantine theater defamiliarizes these Spanish-centered classifications of "Muslim," "Jew," "Christian," "male" and "female," reminding us that they do not denote natural unities or identities. Instead, these categories systematically created regulatory fictions that were meant to function only within a Christian framework. Their utilization by the Inquisition reproduced, in fact demanded, normative relations between religions, sex and gender. The end function was to naturalize heterosexuality, heteronormativity and Christianity, and to destabilize, or queer, Muslims, Jews, *moriscos* and *conversos*. The unrealistic and unrelenting nature of these religious and state-sponsored paradigms enriches instances of gender play and transvestism in Golden Age Theater and provides Cervantes, the former captive, with an unending source of dramatic inspiration.

Choosing Constantinople as the setting for *La gran sultana* was by no means arbitrary; what better location to stage the nebulous divide between East and West? Straddling two continents, the city itself cleaved in half by the Bosporus Strait, a Muslim mosque constructed right in the middle of one of Byzantium's greatest architectural masterpieces, the Hagia Sophia, the city has served as the site of countless battles during the Crusades and later was the seat of the Ottoman empire, one which utterly founded itself upon a cultural model of difference-turned-unity.[17] As inheritors of Hellenic and Byzantine Christian traditions, the Ottomans conquered much of Eastern Europe but

[17]The penetrative act of building one religion's place of worship upon another is wholly reminiscent of the implantation of a cathedral in the heart of Cordoba's *mezquita,* this time in the name of Jesus, not Allah.

never set their imperial eyes much further west than the Mediterranean Sea. Yet it was precisely this combination of a "revived eastern Roman empire, with the addition of the Prophet Muhammad's Arabia" that caught the authorial eye of Miguel de Cervantes (Peirce 31). Like post-*Reconquista* Spain, Constantinople was a frontier society, at the edge of what could be considered the Far East (what Columbus sought in his original voyage) yet at the same time decidedly not what nowadays we would consider Middle Eastern. The city literally incarnated both East and West for Europeans; as Christian doctrine influenced scientific trends in the Middle Ages, maps began to situate the Holy Lands of Jerusalem as the center of the World, indeed of the Universe as well. The lands surrounding Constantinople were therefore symbolic not only as a dividing line, but even came to serve as the compass rose itself, dis/orienting the early modern body towards or away from the familiar and the exotic.

Functioning as both a Roman/Byzantine and Islamic capital, the strategic narrative decision to locate *La gran sultana* in Turkey sets this play apart from Cervantes' other *comedias de cautiverio*, which otherwise take place in North Africa. Indeed the city's hybridity was evident not only in its geographic positioning but even in terms of its demographic make up. Peirce finds that while Europe may have called the Sultan the "Grand Turk" (or Gran Turco, in this case), to the Sultan (actually an Ottoman) Turks were just one of many groups within the subject population (36). But the Ottomans were not the only ethnicity within the Ottoman Empire or court, as Turkishness only became a component of Ottoman identity later on in its history. The Sultans were Ottomans, or rulers, not Turks, subjects. This subordinate population, known to Cervantes as the "*turcos*," was instead only a fraction of the sum. Cervantes' confusion (like that of so many other Orientalist writers of the Early Modern) conflates the location of the Ottoman Empire's seat, Constantinople, Turkey, with its entire ethnic identity. The

Turks, then, erroneously come to represent the whole of the Islamic East, enacting a discourse of power (although perhaps in this case unintentional) that was in actuality referring to simply a subjected population, and not to its rulers.[18]

In *La gran sultana* bodies are figured culturally onto a regal Ottoman backdrop. Turkey is inscribed upon the characters of the play through extravagant costuming and exotic stage directions that are meant to directly transport the audience according to Cervantes' imagination. The tale is of an Ottoman sultan who has fallen in love with an exceptionally beautiful member of his harem, Catalina, a Spanish captive who has thus-far avoided conversion to Islam. The sultan, so completely enamored, declares her the Gran Sultana, allows her religious and cultural freedom, marries her and impregnates her with a half-Spanish, half-Turkish child. (Although the sex of the baby is never confirmed, Cervantes leads the reader to believe that it could be a male and thus heir to the throne.) Buried within the main story of this play are numerous secondary plots, such as that of Lamberto, a young Christian man who leaves his home in pursuit of Clara, his lover and another member of the Sultan's seraglio. In order to rescue her, Lamberto poses as a woman and infiltrates the secret space of the Sultan's harem. Lamberto and Clara (who go by Zelinda and Zayda while in disguise, respectively) risk exposure once the gullible Sultan chooses Lamberto/Zelinda as his escort for the evening. Clara/Zayda entrusts Catalina to help save her lover and the Sultana fakes her jealousy in order to convince the Sultan to enter into a monogamous, "Christian-like" relationship with her. Soon after, Lamberto is revealed to be a man but claims that his gendered transformation occurred because he had prayed to Muhammad to become one, due to the "superiority" of the male gender. The Sultan is swayed and Lamberto, in order to escape one trouble creates

[18]Cervantes does seem to get one part right, however, in calling the Sultan's unborn child an "otomano."

another by proclaiming himself a follower of Islam. Miraculously, Catalina announces that she is pregnant with the Sultan's child, and the curtain falls.

This work has garnered significantly less critical attention in comparison to Cervantes' other *comedias*, and its fantastical elements coupled with a silly and disjointed storyline has led to some disagreement regarding its theme, and even its dismissal based on inverisimilitude. *La gran sultana* has been so confounding that there is in fact great disagreement among Hispanists as to what the play is about, with some even contending that it was simply a practical joke (Smith 69). In 1951, Casalduero proclaimed that this play celebrated the triumph of Christendom while conspicuously reminding its audience of how original sin "ha hecho del mundo un enemigo del hombre, pero en el mundo hay que vivir, aunque sin entregarle la voluntad ni abandonar el cristianismo" (150). Casalduero's exceptionally conservative and Christian-centric interpretation of this play resonates poorly with later examinations of *La gran sultana*, and his negation of the possibility that the character Madrigal is anti-Semitic is a statement with which I take great issue. Conversely, Zimic contends that this play represents not the victory of Christendom but rather of courtly love, the optimistic triumph of understanding over religious difference, "[que] simboliza una fervorosa exaltación de la tolerancia, del amor y de la paz entre toda la gente del mundo. La más bella y verdadera religión que el ser humano pueda practicar es el genuino y profundo amor" (202). Ignacio Díez Fernández agrees; his 2006 study presents an exhaustive list of hypothetical themes. And despite his extensive conjecturing, Díez Fernández simply concludes that this particular play is exceptional (that is to say, that it doesn't fit well within Cervantes' corpus nor within the confines of the genre) but that fundamentally *La gran sultana*'s theme is how love conquers all. For Christopher Weimer it is not quite an exalted, Platonic love that is foregrounded in *La gran sultana* but rather he focuses on the sexual tensions of the text,

which he considers a dramatic battle of wills between the sexually repressed Catalina and the insatiable harem master, further complicated by the presence of the two eunuchs (50). Connor also finds sexuality to be at the center of this play, and her 1993 study briefly approximates a sexualized, gendered Orient that allows the Spanish audience to delight in consuming such exotic reenactments while at the same time feeling morally superior to the Islamic characters (512).

La gran sultana is often treated in conjunction with Cervantes' other "captivity plays," *Los baños de Argel* and *El trato de Argel* in particular, and with good reason: Catalina is certainly a captive member of the Gran Turco's harem, and she is not alone. Her own father suddenly winds up being held against his will in the Sultan's seraglio, along with the characters of Clara, Lamberto and the decidedly anti-Semitic Spaniard, Madrigal.[19] Despite these coincidences, I have chosen to treat this play separately for a number of reasons: due to the different economy of race and religion in Constantinople versus that of Algiers; owing to the fact that this play wasn't performed live until 1992; because it pertained to a much later period in Cervantes' life and writings; was published many years after his captivity and for a reading audience; and also because, generally speaking, this play presents such a fantastical course of events that it actually works to undo many of the firm social delineations we see in his Algerian dramas. What's more, the critical tendency to see this play as just that, a fantasy, divorces it from his painfully veridical accounts of Algerian captivity, perhaps allowing Cervantes to engender a more

[19]Again, I cannot imagine that many today would agree with Casalduero's 1951 interpretation that Madrigal's intentional, secretive and decidedly insensitive slip of a piece of ham into a Jewish character's meal is pure comedy "[que] no tiene nada de antisemita, sentimiento inexistente en España. … Madrigal con estos judíos ejecuta una acción de entremés" (136-37). Yes, perhaps the term anti-Semite was non-existent in Cervantes's Spain, but that does not mean that as a sentiment it didn't find a pervasive way into individual perceptions and national policy. Zimic agrees, calling the character "depravad[o]" (196). This study will not particularly focus on Madrigal's role in La gran sultana. For more on this character, see Canavaggio, "La estilización del judío" and "Madrigal, bufón in partibus," as well as Casalduero, Díaz-Mas, Díez Fernández, Ortiz Lottman, Smith, and Zimic (all in bibliography).

utopian intermingling of race and religion in a city that epitomizes hybridity in its truest sense.

This confrontation between self and other has been the critical focus of, among others, Castillo, Alcalá Galán and George Mariscal, who in particular sees in this work a "benign orientalism" that deftly problematizes monolithic conceptions of religion, nation and ethnicity (194). Other studies have similarly focused on the male/female binary, such as Edward Friedman's 1990 article that considers how Cervantes has rewritten the feminine code of passivity within the character of Catalina, and Ellen Anderson who focuses on how Cervantes combines "the signs of gender and the signs of faith" (54). Furthermore, scholars such as Ottmar Hegyi have gone to great length analyzing every last detail of the work for historical accuracy. His *Cervantes and the Turks* (1992) traces similarities between the plot of *La gran sultana* and the true lives of contemporaneous sultans who often had Christian women in their harems, such as Suleiman the Magnificent (Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1520-66) who married a harem girl, Roxelana, an Orthodox Ukrainian captive. Hegyi suggests that Cervantes must have learned about Constantinople from his time in Italy and he justifies irregularities in the play by examining, moment by moment, how almost everything in *La gran sultana* is in fact plausible. Reed suggests that Cervantes' knowledge of the harem and Ottomans came either from his captivity in Algiers or through the accounts of other contemporaneous writers and travelers ("Ottoman-Islamic" 206). Márquez Villanueva similarly finds a number of veridical aspects of the work (mainly the existence of Christian captives in the Gran Turco's harem) but concludes that this play in particular "es así obra con buenas credenciales para llamarse histórica, pero no tan interesada en 'hechos' como en un sentido proyectista muy propio de la época" (189).

While I don't believe ventures such as Hegyi's to be completely unreasonable, I do find that as students of literature we must remember that Cervantes always intended for this to be a work of fiction, and thus I am less concerned with the historical accuracy of, say, a Catholic woman hiding in a Sultan's harem, and more with the greater sociocultural implications of such a provocative plot. Cervantes experienced the Orient during his captivity, learned of the Turks and Ottomans fighting in Lepanto and wandering the winding streets of Algiers, and transported images, sometimes disconnected from reality, for representation in the West. The East for the early modern Spaniard was unrelenting and alluring, a religion of violence in this life and of paradise after death.[20] During the Middle Ages, Islam and its followers not only conquered and ruled Spain but its civilization as a whole was far ahead of its Christian rival, "It was therefore from a position of military and, perhaps more importantly, cultural weakness that Christian Europe developed negative images . . . this hostility was the result of continued political and military conflict, but it likewise ensued from a Western sense of cultural inferiority" (Blanks & Frassetto 3).

The compounding worries resulting from the fall of Constantinople in 1453, to the naval clashes between Spain and the Turks during the sixteenth century and the heightened national security risks due to the internal *morisco* crisis, berthed an ambience of fear and fascination (Taylor 80). The use of rigid molds of identity that arrived alongside the Inquisition and the expulsion of the *moriscos* resulted in the East being comprehended by the West under completely incongruous terms. These identity markers, such as religion, religion-based race and lineage were transferred and applied to the New

[20]For the purposes of this study I will be using the terms "Islam," "the East" and "the Orient" interchangeably, as during the Spanish early modern these were the same intimidating threat, the same unbridled paradise and synecdoche for the large geographic portion of the Earth under Islamic law.

World and Asia, also affecting how Europeans looked at other Old World regimes and even themselves. As Margaret Greer, Walter Mignolo and Maureen Quilligan reveal in their introduction to *Rereading the Black Legend*, even Bartolomé de Las Casas, the unintentional inventor of the Black Legend and apologist for the indigenous of the Americas, created a discourse of racial difference in his definition of the "types of barbarians" (7).[21] Laws of *limpieza de sangre*, the concept of purity of blood that denied public and church office to those of Muslim or Jewish ancestry, were imposed upon the colonies and the imperial exploits in the *ultramar*, having as much to do with "class interests as [with] religious concerns, as the aristocracy sought to limit competition . . . and as commoners who had risen by dint of talent and education retaliated by requiring proof of blood purity of an aristocracy that had intermarried with wealthy *converso* families" (Greer, Mignolo 12). Similar to the one-drop rule of the United States, the laws of *limpieza* systematically created a discourse of race (and even extermination) that has its roots in geography, culture, lineage and religion. Nirenberg reveals that even by the year 1449, Fernán Díaz, the relator of Juan II, noted the inherent danger in such a rigid classification system, warning that there were few noble houses in Spain that hadn't a *converso* in its family tree, "If Jewishness were attached to blood," Nirenberg recounts, "the nobility of Iberia would [have been] destroyed" (83).

[21]One type of "barbarian" was characterized by a lack of "Latinity," thus degrading Arabic, Hebrew and Turkic and aligning Latin-based languages (and their civilizations) as closest to God (Greer, Mignolo 7). Las Casas goes on to configure another type that was comprised of all those who did not have the "right religion," a definition most prominently used by Miguel de Cervantes and, I would argue, other Early Modern Spanish Orientalist writers.

REORIENTING SPANISH ORIENTALISM–WHEN UP IS DOWN

The relationship of power between Occident and Orient played out uniquely within Spain's borders as the Crown made enemies of the *moriscos* and Jews, waging internal religious warfare. On a more global scale, this very tension has resulted in a will to not only understand but to also control culture, resulting in a stereotyped understanding of a weaker, effeminate and idolatrous East. Orientals were "created" through the writings and stories that travelers such as Cervantes returned home to tell. Contact with faraway lands and their peoples solidified the Oriental as a pastiche other, a syncretic figure with traits that may or may not have reflected reality. By simply packaging the East for a European audience, by bringing back inchoate tales of harems, eunuchs and tapestries, the author-traveler exerts power over the area by describing it in contemporary Occidental terms. Indeed these two geographic regions represented polar opposites when considered in the binary system of male and female, Christian and Muslim. Yet it is the wholly imprecise geographical dividing line separating these two, combined with the sheer fact that neither does the "Occident" necessarily correspond to any stable, empirical reality that renders Cervantes' imagination of the Topkapi Palace not just a delightful anomaly but rather a deliberately stylized and material account of Christian-Muslim relations, one in which the characterization of the Turk and the Spaniard alike is exaggerated "bizarramente," as Cervantes himself remarks in his stage notes. But unlike Said, Cervantes seems to imply that these two antitheses had more in common than they did in opposition, and as Alcalá Galán observes, in this work he intensifies and distorts the Oriental exotic to such an extreme that stereotypes are absorbed and to some extent even diminished (27).

Cervantes' distortions challenge head-on the modern assumptions made by Saidian Orientalism, which considers the Middle Ages and early modern as Orientalism's

adolescence, when in fact what we tend to find in this time period is that often it serves to undermine the strict binarization of East and West to which Said adheres. *Orientalism* makes brief mention of Cervantes but not in the context one would expect. Instead Said uses the title character of *Don Quijote* as an example, along with Voltaire's *Candide*, to illustrate the dangers of believing everything one reads, an error Alonso Quijano famously commits. Graf similarly considers Said exclusively within the context of *Don Quijote*, yet because *La gran sultana* actually takes place in the East, unlike the adventures of Alonso and Sancho, it would be prudent to consider how it is exemplary of an early modern Cervantine Orientalism, and perhaps to a greater extent than his other works. Cervantes' referent for this particular play is Orientalist, not the Orient. He stages an exaggerated, exotic version of Constantinople for his Occidental audience in which the Muslim characters are playfully juxtaposed against their Christian counterparts. Moisés Castillo writes of the inherent cultural instability that arises from this Muslim-Christian encounter, "Se ve al moro desde los ojos del cristiano y al cristiano desde los ojos del moro, produciéndose así una especie de 'vértigo' que . . . viene a desestabilizar cualquier noción de centralidad cultural" (220). The effect of bringing the East to Western audiences in such a fanciful manner begins to destabilize and satirize the very referent. Cervantes' inverisimilitudes, rather than undermine this play's literary achievements, might have actually been deliberate, as Alcalá-Galán suggests: "the ambience is sexualized so hyperbolically and absurdly that it makes the reader see the Occidental vision of the Orient as being full of stereotypes and as something as fake as this clever play" (27).

Cervantes conforms the Orient and the space of the Topkapi Palace into a spectacle that directly mirrors drama's the extraordinary title: Catalina the Catholic paired with the Muslim Sultan. The East is presented as a society of pageantry such that

from the stage emanates a fetishized aesthetic in which the characters, so extremely Christian or Muslim, become a product for the audience's frivolous consumption. And the audience's voyeuristic gaze represents a sort of shared cultural practice, "The West is the actor, the Orient a passive reactor. The West is the spectator, the judge and jury, of every facet of Oriental behavior," writes Said (109). Cervantes' Western audiences, Said's "spectators," consume and pass judgment on the Easterners just like the characters within the play itself. The voyeurism of the audience is keenly hinted at by Cervantes when he opens the play with the two renegade "voyeurs," gazing upon and editorializing the Sultan's pageantry. Even Salec and Roberto cannot help but comment on the bizarre and spectacular nature of the opening processions, echoing our own sense of distance and delight: "La pompa y majestad deste tirano, / sin duda alguna, sube y se engrandece / sobre las fuerzas del poder humano. / Mas, ¿qué fantasma es esta que se ofrece, / coronada de estopas media lanza? / Alárabe en el traje me parece," marvels Roberto (I, 1-6). In this scene the denizens of Constantinople have come to ask for the Sultan's goodwill in a show of pageantry and submission. Dually voyeuristic, we become passive receptors not just as an audience but also to Salec and Roberto's consumption and recounting of these opening processionals. Our understanding of the events is colored by the slight disdain they both express toward the ways of the Ottoman crown: "¿Qué te parece Roberto, / de la pompa y majestad / que aquí se te ha descubierto?" inquires Salec (I, 50-52). "Que no creo a la verdad, / y pongo duda en lo cierto," Roberto begrudges (I, 53-54).

In fact from the opening moments of the play, Cervantes draws us in to the many layers of performance by invoking Muslim material culture, one that is in this case wildly pompous and eccentric and made even more extravagant through its production in the theater. Amplifying and ensuring the ethnic and cultural chasm between them, Cervantes

uses elaborate stage directions to exaggerate the difference between the Sultana and her Muslim counterparts. Cervantes presents the Western readers, and his presumably Spanish audience, with a scene radically different from their own. His initial stage directions read: "Sale Salec, turco, y Roberto, vestido a lo griego, y, detrás dellos, un alárabe, vestido de un alquicel."[22] Here the character Roberto, a Spanish renegade, is already patently feigning appearances as he is dressed like a Greek. Salec, the Paje and the Alárabe are pointedly dressed like the Other and the scene is so elaborately set that the play instantly becomes a parody of a parody, reminiscent of Maese Pedro's puppet show in Book II of *Don Quijote* and of Cervantes' entremés, *El retablo de las maravillas*. A focus on material culture, such as the opulent garb and opulent processional items, objectifies and Orientalizes the Turkish court and presents it for Western consumption. Cervantes continues: "Entra a este instante el Gran Turco con mucho acompañamiento; delante de sí lleva un paje vestido a lo turquesco con una flecha en la mano levantada en alto, y detrás del Turco van otros dos garzones con dos bolsas de terciopelo verde." By commodifying the Ottomans and using cultural relics as synecdochical of the entire region, Cervantes portrays their culture as shallow, materialistic and obsessively focused on appearance, as if to imply that Spaniards were the complete opposite.

This materialism, this "market" Orientalist referent of extravagance that Cervantes has created continues to relentlessly present itself throughout the entire play. In fact, the Sultan himself makes no secret of his affinity for pageantry, as his wedding (*bodas*) to Catalina "han de dar asombro al suelo, / déme de su gloria el cielo / y acudan mis gentes todas" (II, 1387-89). The Sultan's materialism contrasts with Catalina's morose costuming when she is in "Christian" fashions, and also points to an Islamic

[22] An *alquicel* was a wide, cape-like garment often worn by *moriscos* and made of wool, linen or cotton.

stereotype of pleasure in earth's carnal, material delights, as opposed to the the value Catalina places on the preservation of her intangible "alma." Later, even once the Sultan has unconditionally accepted Catalina as his Sultana, Cervantes again hyperbolizes and stylizes Islamic culture during a stately dinner between the Sultan and a group of Persian ambassadors. In ostentatious fashion our author sets the stage vividly:

> Parece el Gran Turco detrás de unas cortinas de tafetán verde; salen cuatro bajaes ancianos; siéntanse sobre alfombras y almohadas; entra el Embajador de Persia, y, al entrar, le echan encima una ropa de brocado; llévanle dos turcos de brazo, habiéndole mirado primero si trae armas encubiertas; llévanle a asentar en una almohada de terciopelo; descúbrese la cortina; parece el Gran Turco. (Act II)[23]

What was in reality an important political moment (a scene with its basis in history, as the Persians and Ottomans were seeking a peace accord during this time period) is staged as another instance of commodification and excess. Cervantes indicates a knowledge of the attire of Turkish cultures yet constantly reminds his audience that these are actors patently creating a performance of Muslims according to his Orientalist imagination. These characters *perform* Muslim since in reality they are Christian Spanish actors imitating a stereotypical version of a Turk. Cervantes also intentionally employs Arabic neologisms and material culture in his surprisingly lengthy directions, the effect of which would have surely been quite the spectacle whether in 1492 or in its first rendering in 1992.

Perhaps the large quantity of *acotaciones* can be attributed to the fact that this work was published within a set of *comedias* and was conceivably meant for a primarily reading audience, rather than sold for individual production. In fact, the production houses of Cervantes' time rejected each of the scripts that would one day end up in his

[23]Hegyi finds that a great deal of the details in La gran sultana are veridical and can be found in various contemporaneous travel accounts, such as the use of the green curtain which is a highly symbolic color for Islam and associated with the Prophet Mohammed. It is also the color of the Holy Flag of the Ottoman Empire (169).

Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados (1615) and, along with *La gran sultana*, they were compiled for printed form, destined for dusty bookshelves. Whereas the rejection of Cervantes' texts may have been because of their "novelization" as Reed describes it, perhaps this afforded them more success amongst a reading audience (*The novelist* 36). Whether the stage notes came before or after his decision to print these plays, certainly their sheer extensiveness uniquely calls attention to the performance of the performance of this play, to the heterotopia that the theatergoing experience often creates, in which anyone can become anything. Further underscoring the artifice and theatricality of his story, Cervantes makes the character Madrigal a playwright himself, who at the end of the work proclaims that he intends to stage this very tale in the *corrales* of Madrid: "Por el camino / te diré maravillas. Ven, que muero / por verme ya en Madrid hacer corrillos / de gente que pregunte: '¿Cómo es esto?'" (III, 2908-11).[24] Our author relentlessly reminds us of the play's presumed stage production through metatheatrical moments that beg the reader to suspend his/her disbelief while also remaining cognizant of the work's performative aspects, creating a deft balancing act made possible by his experience as a prose writer.[25]

In the same way that the presentation of the Turkish characters affects the audience's reaction to them, Catalina and Lamberto's outward appearances likewise dictate their reception. The first time we see Doña Catalina she has just left the harem to be presented to the Sultan and is dressed in the Turkish style. Even outfitted as a Turk (or performing a Muslim) she is so exquisitely beautiful that she manages to entrance the

[24] Cervantes could be associated with this character, having written an *autor de comedias* into the plot, but considering Madrigal's overt racism and Cervantes' signature ambiguity when it comes to matters of race and religion I find that this might be over-stating the truth.

[25]These techniques of dis/belief are also fundamental to the audience's experience of reading Cervantes' *Don Quijote*.

asexualized eunuch Rustán. The other eunuch, Mamí expresses Catalina's beauty in distinctly Arabic terms while also alluding to her virginal fair skin (perhaps an indication of her northern Spanish-ness), previously untouched by the sun:

Es tan hermosa
como en el jardín cerrado
la entreabierta y fresca rosa
a quien el sol no ha tocado;
o como el alba serena,
de aljófar y perlas llena,
al salir del claro Oriente. . . . (I, 352-58)

Upon hearing word of Catalina's beauty the Sultan is understandably surprised to learn that there has been a Christian in his harem that has not converted to Islam. Mamí, however, advises him that she might not be the only one, "Más deben de estar de tres; / mas, ¿quién podrá averiguallo?" (I, 404-05). Cervantes implies through the mouth of his characters that sometimes, perhaps even often, Christians are hard to differentiate from their Muslim counterparts. The implications of this revelation are far-reaching. Firstly, he suggests that a system of racial profiling in order to expel all Jews and *moriscos* from Spain might never function, because in effect these communities are not so different from their "pureblooded" Spanish counterparts. Secondly, it is clear from this excerpt that identities in Ottoman Constantinople are so slippery that one can move between them fluidly, just as Catalina moves from a Muslim exterior to a Christian one, and in the same way that Lamberto slips by unnoticed as a man in woman's clothes. However in this case, and unlike for Catalina, Lamberto's ability to pass for a *mora* within the seraglio

becomes a permanent transformation, if not of gender then of religious, and even political, affiliations (Fuchs 85).

But Saidian Orientalism, as I have mentioned, relies too heavily on the implementation of strict binarization or atomization of identity to solely explain the cultural contact staged in *La gran sultana*. Cervantes' ability to satirize and defamiliarize the distance between Christianity and Islam reveal how cutting-and-pasting *Orientalism* as a tool for analysis of the early modern is an incomplete exercise. If his characters can slip in and out of identities with simply a change of clothing, then taking Said's Palestinian-centric worldview at face value can result in a slippery slope of misunderstanding. What's more, one of Said's main blind spots is in the question of gender and how it relates to this religious economy of power. Reina Lewis in particular criticizes Said for using gender "only as a metaphor for the negative characterization of the Orientalized Other as 'feminine' or in a single reference to a woman writer" (18). In a similar vein, Anne McClintock laments that Said only sees gender and sexuality as a metaphor for the power relations at work in imperial projects, thereby denying gender its central role, in fact its constitutive dynamic, in these economies of domination (14).

THE SOMATIC PERFORMANCE OF RELIGION AND GENDER

It is for this reason that I would now like to move to an exploration of how gender theory can work alongside Orientalist theory to elucidate some of the machinations of power at work in early modern Spain. Just as I would be remiss to speak of Orientalism without making mention of Said, certainly any discussion of the performance of identity must refer to Judith Butler. Gender, in Butlerian terms, contends that each individual socially constructs his or her own version of male or female; gender, thus, is a social

temporality, something one *does* but not something one already *is*. This internalized repetition of identity is what she refers to as the *performativity* inherent in the creation of a personal notion of gender. In the context of the Spanish *comedia*, the reader (or spectator) must remain cognizant of the fact that outward appearances alone do not, in fact, signal gender or sex. Rather, much like character actors, each day we all perform a series of acts and rituals that comprise our male or female (or queer) gendered identity, an identity that is performatively constituted. Conversely, when one imitates gender (perhaps as a drag king or queen, for example, or a *mujer varonil* in a *comedia*) we witness the *performance* of gender, a particularly robust trope for Spanish golden age dramatists (Butler 137).[26]

Butler makes a very important yet albeit fuzzy distinction between *performativity* and *performance* to differentiate between, firstly, the gendered performances which we all unconsciously enact on a daily basis (performances which, importantly, correspond only to the surface yet produce the *effect* of an internal gendered core) and secondly, the intentional imitation of gender such as transvestism (136).[27] Gender considered within this paradigm is inherently fictive or contrived, and the notion of an interior gendered core is an illusion maintained only for the regulation of sexuality in a strictly heterosexual (or in this case, Christian) framework. Genders, then, can never be true or false. They do, however, enact a discourse of identity that is read culturally. While Butler's theory does contest the notion of a gender binary, just like Cervantes' characters in *La gran sultana*, there are still a limited number of gender "styles" that are constrained by discourses of

[26]Entire books have been dedicated to the topic, such as Fuchs' Passing for Spain (2003), Melveena McKendrick's Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age (1974) and Gender, Identity and Representation in Spain's Golden Age (2000, eds. Stoll, Anita & Dawn Smith).

[27]It is the effect of a gendered core that Butler emphasizes, not the existence of one. Language and discourse, for Butler, create gender. The aspect of performativity contests the very notion of an inherent gender, of a subject, whereas the performance of gender presupposes a pre-extant subject.

power and heteronormativity. One is not free to choose a gender, as if selecting a different costume to wear each day. Hybrid individuals like Catalina and Lamberto commit border transgressions that shape them into revolutionary subjects within a Butlerian framework, subverting the norm without subverting the logic of gender, as they both must ultimately "choose" one gender or another.

Although Butler's formulation of performance and performativity are seminal in the field of gender studies, the theater and its actors help to illuminate some of her theory's shortcomings, especially in regard to pre-Enlightenment contexts. If gender is performative, something one *does* but not something one *is*, if there really is no pre-discursive subject that came before the gendering of the body, then Butler's formula does not allow for a performer behind the performance, for an actor behind the act. Nowadays, gender is often seen as the refusal of sex, as something capable of enacting a discourse *upon* the body. Butler therefore negates that the body might have any prior gendered inscriptions, while simultaneously implying that the performance of gender can be summoned from a vacuum without any prior referent. Here Peggy Phelan's elaboration of performance theory helps to fill some of Butler's gaps. Contending that visibility is a trap, Phelan theorizes that identity emerges when the body fails to convey meaning exactly. This is indeed more akin to the transformation we see in Cervantes' Catalina, who reaffirms her Christian gendered identity once she comes into contact with the Other, when dressed *as* the Other. Identity, for Phelan,

> . . . is a form of both resisting and claiming the other, declaring the boundary where the self diverges from and merges with the other. In that declaration of identity and identification, there is always loss, the loss of not-being the other and yet remaining dependent on that other for self-seeing, self-being." (13)

Contrary to Butler, Phelan affirms the notion of the past performance in the creation of an identity, one that Catalina, for example, relies upon when her own

Christian sense of self is reawakened, but she argues that it can never be faithfully replicated and is necessarily constrained temporally. So just as Butler is incapable of fully explaining the gendered economy of Cervantes' Turkey, and even though Phelan serves to round out the notion of *performativity* within the context of other bodies, her notion of "temporality" reminds us that we must be true to the historical context in which this play was written. Although slightly less so in Phelan, the body becomes incidental for Butler in a manner that is not entirely consistent with early modern Spain.

The somatic in Cervantes' epoch, I find, at times confirms the notion of *performance* when (perhaps in the theater) it calls attention to the disconnect between corporeality and gender (or religion). But the somatic was also understood in the seventeenth century as "a signified space [and] a quite delicate sphere of inscription in that merely mingling with certain non-same bodies could cause the meaning of the body to slip away. Gender as a social construct was considered by many as 'contagious'" (Vigo 31). Just because the body can absorb meaning and therefore becomes secondary to identity, this does not also mean that the inverse isn't true; it does not necessarily deny the body's ability to transmit gendered identity. The somatic can indeed call attention to what it opposes, but in seventeenth century Spain (and Cervantes' Turkey) the body was also capable of confirming identity, ex ante.

In fact the model of gender and sexual difference that was most ubiquitous prior to the Enlightenment (and before Butler's Foucaultian-defined "modernity") was one that arranged and categorized men and women according to their degree of metaphysical perfection, the woman being considered as simply the inverse of a man. Even her reproductive organs were seen as very much like the male's but with contrary placement in the body. Whereas Butler constantly emphasizes "real" identities, as opposed to subversive performances of identity, in medieval and Renaissance texts, as Thomas

Laqueur convincingly finds, we cannot read backwards with the same sort of epistemological (or even ontological) lens, "through which the physical world—the body—appears as 'real,' while its cultural meanings are epiphenomenal" (7). He reminds us that the human body in Cervantes' time was believed to be capable of remarkable conversions—Jewish men were said to menstruate like women and males and females were believed to be constructed in the image of God. The somatic was understood in distinctly sacred terms, and in direct contrast to Butler, Laqueur proposes that in a pre-Enlightenment context the body (or sex) was not considered an ontological category, but as a social one.[28] Julian Vigo summarizes this distinction between pre- and post-Enlightenment philosophy in the following manner:

> . . . the body of the Enlightenment was strictly regarded as symbolic of social relations while gender was the 'real' space upon which somatic definitions were 'read.' Today, antithetical to the Enlightenment paradigm where gender is the only real and the body is in constant flux, destruction and reconstruction of sexed identity, we are facing a linguistic vicissitude in which gender and sexuality are constantly being reworked, reordered and molded and instead it is sex which remains intransigent to these reworkings. (33)

If gender, then, is the "real," then it must precede sex. But an obsession with determining which is the "real," gender or sex, has become a game of chicken and egg for gender theorists, and Cervantes' *La gran sultana* exposes the interminable nature of this pursuit.

Catalina and Lamberto's explicit performances of female identities, both as Spanish Christian and Turkish Muslim, subvert hetero/Christian-normatized notions of

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[28]"I want to propose instead that in these pre-Enlightenment texts, and even some later ones, *sex*, or the body, must be understood as the epiphenomenon, while *gender*, what we would take to be a cultural category, was primary or 'real.' Gender—man and woman—mattered a great deal and was part of the order of things; sex was conventional, though modern terminology makes such a reordering nonsensical. At the very least, what we call sex and gender were in the 'one-sex model' explicitly bound up in a circle of meanings from which escape to a supposed biological substrate—the strategy of the Enlightenment—was impossible. . . . To be a man or a woman was to hold a social rank, to assume a cultural role, not to *be* organically one or the other of two incommensurable sexes. Sex before the seventeenth century, in other words, was still a sociological and not an ontological category" (7).

gender and sexuality, allowing the body to become a blank canvas. Catalina's incarnation of hybridity, symbolized most deeply by her unborn child, presents a counterargument to Inquisition Spanish dogma. Lamberto's apostasy and "sex change" thoroughly queer his identity. Yet we mustn't ignore Laqueur's compelling argument for the primacy of gender in this time period, which Lamberto's sex change, incidentally "caused" by his time in the harem, confirms. In order to reconcile this cyclicality, I turn again to Vigo, who envisions a "non-Body":

> . . . a frame which is always performative and always in construction and a site upon which all meaning is temporal, incidental, and subjective. . . . If we dispose with the idea that language or corporeality must express clearly or linearly, we would be opening up social discourse to understanding the body as a field of meanings upon which are vectored historical, linguistic and cultural traces. . . . The non-Body has no 'original' gender, no true sex and certainly there is nothing natural about it. (26)

Vigo calls for a return to the somatic, to viewing bodies agents of exchange, as that which can be read culturally but simultaneously in a state of constant construction. This way the body can take on multiple meanings depending on its surroundings, and can become a hybridized form (a cyborg, perhaps) that "necessitates that we dispose with the notion of a 'real,' sexed body and requires us to embrace the mixing of genres, forms and functions" (55). Language falls away as the centerpiece of identity and is instead replaced instead by physicality, one that allows for multiple meanings, desires, gestures.

Reading gender and sex in this manner, Cervantes' characters' bodies become formless, slipping in and out of sincere or manipulative religious and gendered performances. All the more pertinent to a conceptualization of this sort is the full title of this play, *La gran sultana Doña Catalina de Oviedo*, in which Catalina, whose Christianity is evident from name alone, through an alchemy of amalgamation becomes the Islamic "Sultana," thereby demonstrating this sense of the corporeal self as a canvas

of hybridity, undoing any notion of the "real" in a dizzying game of hide-and-seek. Catalina's strict maintenance of her Christian gendered core throughout the play and *despite* her garb exposes how Butler's *performativity* concept cannot fully explain gender in seventeenth century Spain (and perhaps not in modern times either). Catalina seems to show that her identity invariably maintains a tie to that which is somatic, to her prior sense of self that has recently come under fire due to contact with the Other. Phelan, of course, is helpful in this sense, showing how the self both merges with and diverges from the Other in articulating an identity. Ultimately, *performativity* for Catalina involves a ritual social drama made up of the reenactment of a set of meanings for "Christian" and "woman," significations that were already socially established for her before she arrived in Muslim Turkey and which she attempts to reproduce while in captivity.[29]

But Catalina's *performativity* of identity is in fact at times also a *performance*. Butler's notion of gender parody "does not assume that there is an original from which such parodic identities imitate. Indeed, the parody is *of* the very notion of an original" (175, original emphasis). Here Butler departs from a Christian or Cartesian sense of duality, of separation of soul and body, by contending that there is no primordial human essence prior to discourse. Problematically, this is a notion that Catalina's inner sense of self relies heavily upon and is in fact consistent with Laqueur. Even when Catalina is dressed in Muslim garb, her body codified as a *turca*, she insists upon the immutability of her Catholic soul. This Cartesian sense of duality is one that Edward Friedman hints at in *La gran sultana* as well, "If Doña Catalina's discourse prioritizes the soul (*alma* above *cuerpo*), the sultan's foregrounds beauty (*hermosura*, *belleza*) to create an ironic

[29]But let us be reminded that Phelan argues that performance is presence and cannot be exactly repeated. This immediacy and temporality indicates that although Catalina is relying upon past performances of "Christian" and "woman" cauterized in Spain, they will never produce the same effect.

variation on the topos of love's heresy" (222). It is, after all, her external, exquisite beauty that captivates the Sultan's attention and not the purity of her spirit. The Sultan's somatic materialism, accentuated by Cervantes' stage notes, signifies a focus on precisely the opposite of Catalina's *alma*. In fact the only reason that the other characters seem to treat her with any reverence is, at least initially, because of her stunning appearance. Agapita Jurado Santos similarly focuses on this conflict between the material and the spiritual, locating the Sultan's interest uniquely in "el frágil cuerpo y no en el alma" (17). Cervantes expresses the Sultan's attention towards Catalina's remarkable beauty (despite her Christian core) in the following manner:

SULTANA. He de ser cristiana.

TURCO. Sélo;

que a tu cuerpo por agora,

es el que mi alma adora

como si fuese su cielo. (II, 1238-41)

Once the Sultan falls in love with Catalina she immediately reverts to her traditionally Christian garb in order to regain and reaffirm her "true" and original sense of identity, Laqueur's "real." Catalina is first culturally inscribed as a Muslim slave but she recuperates her Spanish cultural self by later dressing as she would at home. In typical Cervantine fashion, when Catalina reemerges as a proud and powerful Christian woman she does not do so modestly: in act III she reappears with her new Gentile clothes made ironically by her father, a tailor who has mysteriously turned up in the Turk's palace. In this moment Catalina's new Spanish appearance is remarkably contrasted with the Oriental exterior of her counterparts. Cervantes' stage directions call for Catalina to "vestir a lo cristiano, lo más bizarramente que pudiere" (Act III). This grand reveal comes

along with the following additional directions by Cervantes within the same act: "Salen los dos Músicos, y Madrigal con ellos, como cautivos, con sus almillas coloradas, calzones de lienzo blanco, borceguíes negros, todo nuevo, con vueltas sin lechuguillas." Cervantes purposefully pits Catalina against the Turkish musicians and dresses her so absurdly such that Catalina's body becomes a site of othering, even in the eyes of the Spanish audience. Catalina's Christian identity reveals itself in this moment because it is able to exist in relation to another, to the Other. For the first time in the play the excess of her Occidental nature aligns itself with the artificial, Saidian Orient. And although *moras* and *turcas* were systematically portrayed as highly sexual, Catalina is always excessively robed, often bearing a cross around her neck and constantly dressed in a most severe and chaste manner.

Eschewing the sociocultural infrastructure and gender policing of his time, Cervantes is always calling our attention to clothing and its importance in signifying outward appearances. The body in Cervantes is always under siege, resisting against and sometimes surrendering to external cultural forces. Then and now, clothing was meant to denote one's interior identity, an identity sometimes separate from the body spiritually but often externally in accord. Males and females alike were expected to constantly regulate their identities in order to conform to their religious and gendered expectations. However Cervantes makes clear that one's self does not necessarily reside in the way one dresses, and that appearances are often deceptive (Phelan's "trap"). He uses theatricality as a vehicle to remind us, the reading and viewing audience, of the daily performances we enact in order to convey some notion of a unified interior core identity. Through quick and dramatic costume changes he asks us to consider the rigidity and veracity of social distinctions while meanwhile contesting the body's borderlines, pushing it into new frontiers of inscription.

With the exception of Catalina, whose most "admirable" trait is her adherence to Christianity, in Cervantes' works changing clothes denote a change in identity and the possibility of an amorphous, multitudinous corporeality: Andrea, a spy, is disguised as a Greek at the play's commencement, and Lamberto transitions between both names and costumes depending on the cultural context, cross-dressing as Zelinda while rendezvousing with Clara/Zayda in the harem. In fact, Lamberto/Zelinda's reclamation of his original nomenclature at the end of the play signifies his return to masculinity. He fully transitions from male-female-male vis-à-vis a change of clothes and of title, suspending his virility while hiding out and also disrupting the continuity of gender and its binary orthodoxy, or the strict separation of sexes that the harem system functioned to protect. Similarly, Cervantes tells us that the palace authorities tried to give Catalina the name Zoraida (not coincidentally also the name of the *morisca* in *Don Quijote*) but that she refused (II, 2311-14). She further declines to be called "Catalina la Otomana," and in explaining why she didn't change her name when she got to Constantinople, Mamí clarifies, "Como no ha mudado fe / no apetece otro renombre" (I, 398-99). Moreover, the surname Oviedo evokes her roots as an old Christian, free of *mestizaje* and "untainted" by Muslim blood.

*TRANS*ITIONS—FINDING A SPACE FOR THE QUEER

Using the body as a vehicle for subversion, Lamberto and Catalina's identities become so destabilized that not only do they transgress gender barriers but also religious ones—Cervantes queers the gendered and religious identity politics of his time by making the transition between self and other completely fluid. The term "queer" itself intends to denaturalize and resist, yet at the same time refers to nothing in particular: It is

fundamentally ambiguous, indeterminate. It calls into question conventional understandings of sexual identity, and for the purposes of this paper, religious and gendered identity as well: "By refusing to crystallise in any specific form, queer maintains a relation of resistance to whatever constitutes the normal" (Jagose 99).[30] Queer religious identities and shifting gendered performances highlight the differences and lacunae inherent in and created by the imposition of monolithic, binary identity politics in seventeenth-century Spanish culture. The fundamental difference between these two sorts of performances, that of gender and that of religion, is that gender is not always willful, unlike apostasy or atheism, which is always a conscious, unconstrained act. Nevertheless if gender is, as Butler contends, a set of repeated gestures that attempts to produce and portray a substantive sense of being, then consequently there is nothing authentic about gender. Similarly, if being Christian is simply the compendium of Inquisition-approved acts repeated such as to demonstrate an interior, Catholic core—only setting your table on Sundays or regularly fulfilling the sacraments, for example—then perhaps even being Catholic (or Muslim or Jewish) is inauthentic and always already a performance in and of itself, the corresponding acts and rituals functioning to consolidate the subject into "Christian" and "Spanish." Or perhaps, as Vigo would have it, the non-Body as the site or absence of inscription allows for the subject to be Catholic and Muslim and Jew simultaneously.

Analogously, Lamberto as well as the unborn child of the Sultan and Catalina represent "transreligious" characters: they are hybridized forms of Christian-Muslim religious identities. Yet Catalina finds herself in a unique position in comparison with

[30]I do not mean to imply that gender and religion are always grouped together as markers of identity, but as I tend to agree with Laqueur that the body was considered within religious parameters during the European early modern these become two markers of identity that are inextricable from one another.

that of Lamberto precisely because she maintains her female Christian identity across cultural spectrums and despite the pressure to conform to Islamic gender roles, or to die in the Sultan's palace as a martyr. What remains constant for Catalina is her gender identity, her attire notwithstanding, whereas for Lamberto a change of clothes signifies a change of gender and of name, and vise-versa. Her female sense of self that she sustains each day was curated before her captivity in the Sultan's harem and is concomitantly contingent upon her Christian identity. Despite having been forced into Muslim garb, she implies that her soul, her inner sense of self that can be translated as female and Christian, comes before her body and its appearances. But she is also now the "Sultana," a sheep in wolf's clothing, locked in a tenuous balancing act of both *becoming* and *being*.

Theater that portrays transvestite or transreligious characters such as Lamberto/Zelinda and Catalina "recognizes that *all* of the figures onstage are impersonators. The notion that there has to be a naturalness to the sign is exactly what great theater puts in question. In other words, there is no ground . . . that is not already cross-dressed" (Garber 40, original emphasis). Transvestism in regard to both cultural/religious identity and gendered identity becomes fundamental to the plot of *La gran sultana*, as Cervantes weaves a tapestry of disguise and revelation based primarily around changes of clothing such that costuming and the corporeal becomes key to a character's reception. Gender-bending by way of changing clothes exposes the playfulness of the body in early modern Spain, as a marker of social relations but also capable of undoing them. By allowing the body to function as a field of meanings independent of language, religious and ethnic transvestism similarly reaffirms how paying attention to the somatic can liberate the pre-extant self.

Transvestism is "*a space of possibility structuring and confounding culture*: the disruptive element that intervenes, not just a category crisis of male and female, but the

crisis of category itself" (Garber 17, original emphasis). Seeking to limit these very possibilities for variation, medieval and Renaissance authorities demanded conservatism. In fact, women were even briefly banned from the Spanish stage in the sixteenth century and adolescent boys cross-dressed to represent female characters were prohibited altogether on fears of pedophilia and homosexuality. (The spectacle of young boys dressed as a woman was found to be even more disturbing than that of an actress performing onstage [Cañadas 42]). In actuality, however, Lamberto is liberated by his transvestism: It allows him to be near his lover, Clara/Zayda, and to penetrate the sensual, gendered space of the harem, the site of the Western male exotic fantasy.

Cervantes, through the character of Lamberto/Zelinda, explores this space of carnal abundance via a sexually ambiguous male, tapping into the erotic wishes of his Orientalizing audience and readers.[31] Of course, when Lamberto/Zelinda is stripped of his/her veil, the material embodiment of Muslim femininity, he is revealed as a transvestite. Zelinda is now Lamberto, a Bohemian traveler in search of his female lover, and his wild lesbian charade with Clara/Zayda, also captive in the harem, is exposed. Upon penetrating the harem's boundaries, suddenly Lamberto is doubly-Othered. His religious conversion makes him a spiritual foe and his intimate knowledge of the harem rivals that of the eunuchs; it is in fact superior to even that of the Sultan. His lover, Clara, like Lamberto, undergoes a similar change in identity that coincides with her change in title, transmuting from Bohemian captive to crypto-Christian with a Muslim name, and finally back again to "Clara," a name which evokes lucidity and the heavens while also

[31]Not only is cross-dressing a disruption in atomized systems of identity but it is even banned by the Bible, a book whose teachings so many of Cervantes' characters vehemently defend. Deuteronomy 22:5 calls it an abomination, "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God." Perhaps Lamberto's Biblical sins are washed away by his conversion to Islam at the end, although frankly this may constitute a more severe and even unpardonable violation of Catholic orthodoxy.

suggesting her great beauty.[32] However, Lamberto's cross-dressing to some extent results in a revalidation of the man and the heterosexual experience, as at the end of the play Clara and him enter into a more traditionally heteronormative relationship (not to mention his previous discourse on the superiority of the male sex) (III, 2725-30). However, the queerness of Lamberto's life decisions are not completely abolished—Clara/Zayda confoundingly rejects the institution of marriage and thus while her and Lamberto will continue their lives together, it will not be in a Catholic-normative manner (III, 2829-30).

Any reader or audience member, contemporaneously or today, might laugh at the absurdity of Lamberto's gender-bending transformation, yet might also balk at his shocking apostasy, two personal conversions that exemplify an elusiveness of identity that is characteristic of Cervantes' writing and also characteristic of the genre. Apostates and atheists were despised by contemporary Christian authors such as Antonio de Sosa, Cervantes' fellow captive and intimate friend, who in his "De la captividad de Argel," part of tome II of the *Topografía e historia general de Argel*, describes Mahamet, a Jewish renegade, with great disdain: "malicioso y astuto . . . Es tan al contrario de todos, que . . . ninguna ley o secta aprueba, ninguna tiene por buena ni aun por necesaria; mas en todo es un impío ateo" (5).[33] Although Sosa acknowledges Mahamet's lack of religious conviction he still labels him a "Jew," reaffirming the primacy of labels and the confusion of religion with race and lineage that we also see traces of in Cervantes. Those who could not and would not allow themselves to be easily demarcated by identifiable

[32]This play patently lacks any female Muslim characters. In fact, despite the play's title placing great emphasis on one of the only two female characters, they seem to take a more supporting role. Furthermore, each of the female characters are incessantly described as incredibly and uniquely beautiful.

[33]Listed in bibliography under "Diego de Haedo," as the author's true identity has only recently been definitively identified as Antonio de Sosa. (The 1927 edition I use lists Haedo as the author.)

trademarks were not to be trusted. Thus, Christian *renegados* and non-believers in Northern Africa and Turkey were of grave concern to the Crown and the Church, as well as a sensational subject for early modern Europeans (Vitkus 215).

Apostates and atheists in this sense come to represent a sort of "third sex;" they exist apart from pre-established Christian-normative, paradigms that were at once heteronormative as well. The character Salec, described as a "turco renegado," is called an atheist by Roberto, also a renegade.[34] This places him in a similar position as a "third" to that of the eunuchs Mamí and Rustán, themselves physically and literally "thirded." "The 'third' is that which questions binary thinking and introduces crisis . . . The 'third' is a mode of articulation, a way of describing a space of possibility. Three puts into question the idea of one" (Garber 11). Problematizing regulatory identities and their practices, in obfuscating gender or religion the essentializing nature of Counter-Reformation categories become unfastened. The indescribability of the this "third" bestows it its power while also imparting an unease that manifests, even creates disruptions and trouble spots in the dominant culture (Garber 17). Yet iterations of gendered and religious performance were (and are) constrained by taboo and prohibition, in this case with the threat of the Inquisition always lurking nearby. The subversive power of the "third" is not unlike that of the hybrid body or of the "non-Body" that Vigo approximates. Indeed for the "third" the notion of a "true" or "real" sex is challenged. For the pre-Enlightenment being, the body was "regarded as symbolic of social relations while gender was the 'real' space upon which somatic definitions were 'read'" (Laqueur 135). Instead, these "thirds" show how, similar to a hermaphrodite, the question was not what sex are they "really," but rather, to which gender does their body most readily lend

[34]"Roberto: ¡Fino ateísta te muestras! / Salec: Yo no sé lo que me muestro," (I, 192-93).

itself. Eunuchs were *male* guards of the *female* realm, despite their "lack." Strikingly, Akbari's theorization of medieval and early modern Orientalism finds a "close relationship of spiritual orientation and bodily diversity in medieval depictions of Saracens, in which religious conversion goes hand in hand with bodily metamorphosis, [and] highlights the key role of space in articulating identity and difference" (4). The primacy of the body is once again reaffirmed as Akbari's Orientalism swiftly bridges the question of corporeality in terms of early modern ethnic and gendered identity, although in this instance through its potential for ambiguity and sublimination.

The reality of seventeenth-century North Africa or Turkey was that religious conversion was controversial not only for the Catholic captive, who could essentially find liberation in declaring him or herself a Muslim, but also for their captors. Many North Africans, for example, wanted their slaves to remain Christian, and in general the practice of apostasy was discouraged (Friedman, Ellen 88). The value of a captive who had converted to Islam decreased dramatically, for as Muslims they could not be sent to row in the galleys and neither would redemptionist friars pay for the rescue of renegades. Not surprisingly, then, there are numerous accounts detailing the great religious freedom that the Christian captives enjoyed within the *baños*. Liturgy was even available for not only important Christian holidays but also regular Sunday mass. In *El trato de Argel* and *Los baños de Argel* Cervantes writes numerous Christian captives who felt the gnawing pressure to convert to Islam, even personifying the metaphorical *ocasión y libertad* as external forces pulling the captive's will in combative directions.[35] Yet if the captive were to convert, the long arm of the Inquisition meant that they could never return to Spain. The Sultan of *La gran sultana* comes to a similar conclusion of these North

[35]See chapter 1 of this dissertation.

African slave owners, deciding to allow Catalina her religious freedom in order to realize his sexual desire for her and to keep her in the space and confines of the palace, thus still under his control.[36]

A leitmotif found in contemporary Occidental texts was of the virtuous Muslim woman who converts to Christianity, her soul "saved" by a good Christian man such as in the captive's tale of *Don Quijote*. Yet in *La gran sultana* Cervantes writes the reverse: a Christian man who not only magically "changes" gender but also apostatizes. Surprisingly, the controversy of this act is not dealt with in the space of the play, as Cervantes leaves little time for the characters to consider the hasty knots he's tied in the play's loose ends before the curtain is to fall. And although his heterosexuality is reaffirmed, Lamberto's masculinity is not properly intact across his conversion, as Muslim men were often considered simultaneously dangerously sexual while also effeminate. This contrasts with the state of Catalina's femininity, which is not only intact but even reinforced at the play's close despite her change in garb. Catalina might be a militant Christian in her heart, but owing to the fact that the Ottomans accepted the practice of Christianity she is really never in danger of completely losing her sense of self. In fact, Cervantes' contemporary audience would most likely have praised Catalina for remaining steadfast in her religious devotion.

Catalina is a charmingly paradoxical character: At once she is a Christian warrior and evangelizer, whose ascent to the throne allegorically represents the conquest of Western Christianity over Eastern Islam, yet she also masquerades as a *mora* while secretly practicing her religion in the Sultan's household. At the end of the play she also symbolically castrates the Sultan, devoiding him of his power and boundless virility and

[36]The Sultan justifies allowing her to keep her surname and not forcing her to convert, "porque, a tenerle de mora, / nunca a mi poder llegara, / ni del tesoro gozara / que en su hermosura mora" (II, 1378-81).

in turn reversing phallocentric power as she ascends to the throne with arguably more authority than the Sultan himself. "Tus libertades me asombran, / que son más que de mujer," the Sultan balks (II, 1184-85). However despite his astonishment, the Sultan readily transfers his authority to her when deciding what should become of Lamberto/Zelinda and Clara/Zayda. When Catalina names Lamberto *bajá* of Chios, an island off of the Western coast of Turkey, the Sultan seems struck by her readiness to command, "¿Cómo tan poco le da / tu gran poder, si es el mío?" (III, 2841-42).[37] Catalina slyly begins to earn some control within the empire when she feigns jealousy that the Sultan would even consider having relations with any other member of the harem. In order to assuage her, the Sultan ultimately conforms; by abandoning his polygamous lifestyle his carnal desires are swiftly replaced by Christian monogamy. Thus, Catalina converts from being a completely controlled subject within the Sultan's harem, whose existence was justified only by his sexual appetite, to something more akin to a *mujer varonil*. Yet Edward Friedman points out that what appears to be a reversal of roles and status (Catalina's seemingly proto-feminist insistence upon not adapting to the new social norms of the Ottomans) is instead a reconfiguration of the notion of female passivity. After all, she is lauded at the end of the play for her ability to satisfy her husband and to procreate (224).

Thus, although her intense resolve seems to defy the stereotypical female qualities of docility and subordination, like in so many other Spanish *comedias* the status quo is essentially restored at the play's close when Catalina fulfills the ultimate female expectation: motherhood. Cervantes reiterates that fundamentally she is a wife and

[37] *Bajá* is defined by the dictionary of the Real Academia Española as deriving from the Turkish *paşa*: "En el imperio otomano, hombre que obtenía algún mando superior, como el de la mar, o el de alguna provincia en calidad de virrey o gobernador," or also as a "título honorífico."

mother, and like so many other *damas* of Early Modern Spanish *comedias*, Catalina winds up in a hastily-arranged marriage of convenience, playing second-fiddle in a heteronormative institution.[38] Fascinatingly, Peirce in *The Imperial Harem* (1993) remarks that the women of the harem, especially the leading concubines, "were considerably more active than their predecessors in the direct exercise of political power" (vii). Perhaps, then, Catalina's agreement to marry and carry the child of the Sultan could be a sly political grab in the name of Christianity. The harem functioned not only to segregate the sexes, but also to impose a complicated hierarchy of power, status and authority between the women (Peirce ix). Catalina effectively rises to the top of this complex social ladder by becoming the mother of the future sovereign. Yet Cervantes implores us to consider who really has the upper hand in their relationship and whether Catalina really ever earns her freedom, or if perhaps she has really subverted Islam from within and triumphed in the name of the Christian god.

Ultimately and undoubtedly the play's audience is left with an emasculated Sultan, one that speaks precisely to Eastern inferiority within the hegemonic Orientalist economy of power. Cervantes parodies the gendered identity of the entire East through his characterization of the powerful, polygamous and somewhat subordinate Sultan. And this effeminate yet hypersexual Orient prominently finds its way into most depictions of the Eastern Other during the Spanish early modern. In *La gran sultana*, for example, the smitten, submissive Sultan becomes a synecdoche of all of Islam, whose followers were seen as having an unbridled, often perverse sexuality. Considered by many to be sodomites and pedophiles, the Orientalist stereotype of overly sexed men flippantly selecting from a brimming harem represents precisely this atmosphere of excess that so

[38]The conventions of the *comedia* genre teach us that, although Catalina does not seem to reciprocate the Sultan's amorous feelings, love was not a necessary precursor to marriage.

many Christians reviled.[39] (Fascinatingly this is a complete departure from current Islamic stereotypes, which generally replaces sexual licentiousness with heteronormative conservatism.) Furthermore, there are even nuanced references to the character of the Cadí enjoying the company of *garzones*, a fondness echoed by the Cadí character in *Los baños* as well.[40] Even the Gran Turco is publicly made a fool for choosing Lamberto/Zelinda as his escort for the evening. When he discovers his error the Sultan parades Lamberto across the stage, leading him by the neck and with his dagger conspicuously *desenvainada*, or unsheathed, such that he hints at the penetrative act of both stabbing Lamberto out of anger and also as a part of a romantic evening with him. And so despite his perceived sexual excesses, the Sultan of *La gran sultana* does not exactly cohere to the stereotype of the almighty Gran Turco, who instilled both fear and intrigue in the minds of the West and whose unlimited power was seen as unjust and oppressive.[41]

Wonderment of the Orient was not just relegated to the Gran Turco, of course. The veiled women (and in this case, men) of the seraglio incited the sexual curiosity of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans, hungry for stories of lust and desire yet

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[39]References to sodomy and homosexuality are widespread in Sosa's contemporaneous *Topografía*, as mention of deviant sexual practices can be found in regards to janissaries, renegades and corsairs, and even with reference to bestiality. Speaking of renegades in particular, Sosa reports "[les] aplace la vida libre y de todo vicio de carne en que viven los turcos, y a otros dende muchachos lo imponen sus amos en la vellaquería de la sodomía a que se aficionan luego" (53). Akbari similarly concludes that "medieval Orientalism had associated Islam with sexual license, and even specifically with heterosexual sodomy" (283).

[40]"Ella dijo, en conclusión, / que andabas tras un garzón, / y aun otras cosillas más" chides Madrigal, in reference to the Cadí (II, 1607-09).

[41]Even today Orientalizing stereotypes such as hotheadedness and violence are commonly promulgated. In Cervantes' time, "the early modern demonization of Islam tends to focus upon the overwhelming, absolute power of Islamic culture. In these representations, this unlimited power is often embodied in an Islamic ruler, a sultan or king whose authority over his subjects is equated with the power of a master over his slave. It is therefore, by definition, an unjust, tyrannical, and oppressive power" (Vitkus 218).

bound by the constraints of an increasingly rigid and chaste Christianity. And these tales, as Vitkus reminds us, were easily indistinguishable from reality:

> . . . the category of 'literature,' as it is popularly defined today, did not come into being until the nineteenth century. For premodern readers and audiences, the distinction between story and history, fiction and fact, legend and chronicle, was not a clear one—if it existed at all. (209)

The veil and the heavily guarded harem masqueraded as both virtue and chastity, thus emphasizing not only sexual excess but also repression in a titillating game of deception and desire (Vitkus 223). Along the same lines, Alcalá Galán traces the European desire for the Orient through these women, whose sexuality was always at risk yet accessible to the Occident through the slave trade and the seraglio (11). Yet in queering the Sultan, Cervantes delineates a path to Orientalism not only through female sexuality but also by destabilizing notions of virility and heteronormativity.

Using the relationship between the two eunuchs, Rustán and Mamí, Weimer finds that the former aligns himself with a more feminine sense of self-identity whilst Mamí is more closely associated with the masculine gaze that objectifies Catalina: "Thus, the entire confrontation between the sensual, Islamic East and the chaste, Christian West can be discerned within the rivalry between these two eunuchs, whose primary defining characteristic—their emasculation—is linked to the work's overarching opposition" (52).[42] I find that the presence of these two degendered eunuchs at the harem's entrance in fact ensures that the Sultan is the only one whose male virility is intact once he crosses the threshold of the inner living quarters. Their sexual passiveness and arrested state of development enhances and reminds the audience of the Sultan's uniquely potent sexuality. Reed, in his article on Cervantes' *El celoso extremeño*, remarks that many Western travelers' fascination with doors and guarded entrances in representations of the

[42]Rustán laments, "parezco mujer" (I, 246).

East is probably due to the fact that they could not pass through them (202). The eunuchs, many of them black (these were the most highly valued and were often castrated before their arrival at the Sultan's palace) lived in quarters adjacent to but separate from the harem and carefully guarded the women from being seen, thus ensuring their regulated passage within the palace. In fact, nearly every relationship in this play presents some sort of implied or even explicit sexual relationship, and not always a heterosexual one (Connor 513).

HYBRIDIZED TRAJECTORIES IN A COSMOPOLITAN NETWORK

Spain's rigid taxonomies of race, gender and sexuality are transported to Turkey by way of Oran and Algeria and through a vast system of networks. In *La gran sultana* the captive characters recount their transfer from master to master throughout the Mediterranean and with each transaction they take with them their religious and ethnic paradigms, often imposing the social norms of their homelands onto incongruous cultures and lands. Madrigal, a Spaniard, tells of his capture and release, a trajectory that has him passing through and serving time in a prison in Naples before coming to Turkey. As the comedia concludes, Madrigal makes his way back to Spain, literally moving across the sea to freedom and circling back from whence he came, transporting with him and leaving behind a trail of anti-Semitism. Perhaps we are meant to believe that his views are more at home in Iberia than in the Ottoman empire. Unfortunately, we are left with the conclusion that, unlike the other characters who more fluidly adapt and transculturate themselves to life in Ottoman Turkey, Madrigal returns to Spain just as anti-Semitic and bigoted as he was when he arrived. Whereas Cervantes patently creates an ambience of hybridity, evident from the first instant due to the paradox of the play's title, Madrigal's

intolerance is a notable exception. It is significant, as Zimic points out, "que el griego Andrea, antisemita él mismo, reconozca de inmediato al *español* Madrigal precisamente por su rencor congénito a los judíos" (197, original emphasis). When Madrigal contaminates the Jew's meal with pork he effects a network of hostility that extends to Turkey but originates in Spain. His return to the Peninsula creates a closed loop of animosity that functions to reinforce state-sponsored policies of exclusion.

Cervantes similarly contemplates the future plans of the other people in the seraglio. Like the rest of the characters and with the exception of Madrigal, Lamberto willfully stays in Turkey as an apostate, thus reinforcing Leslie Peirce's insistence on the importance of renegades within the Ottoman Empire and their necessity as a source of imperial unity (29). Whereas the captives in *Los baños* and *El trato* are always longing for Spain and hatching elaborate escape attempts to return, here the majority of the characters seem to have their sights set exclusively on crafting a new existence in Constantinople. Catalina's obstinacy is not castigated by the Turks, but rather her difference is incorporated into, and even celebrated within, their royal framework. The story of Catalina and her father's arrival in Constantinople is considerably more complicated. They had set sail as a family from Málaga to Oran during the winter, which was a traditionally calmer period of corsair activity in the Mediterranean. A man named Morato Arráez captured their ship and took the family first to Tétouan, an important port city in the Mediterranean in what is present-day Morocco. The daughter, Catalina, was sold to a slave master named Ali Izquierdo, a Spanish *morisco* whose existence is documented in historical records.[43] The father was taken to Algiers and thus the family was separated. (Tragically, Catalina's mother dies amidst this complicated tale.) Morato

[43]See Gómez Canseco's footnote number 368 in his critical edition of *La gran sultana* for more on Ali Izquierdo and his relation to Morato Arráez.

again comes across Catalina in Tétouan many years after and, like the Sultan would be, is so enamored by her beauty that he buys her back and takes her to Constantinople where she becomes a member of the imperial harem.

The rhizomatic nature of the social network created by Catalina's family, spanning multiple continents and characterized by disruptions and U-turns, yields a stalwart resolve on the part of Catalina and her father to maintain their gendered, religious core. López Estrada finds that *La gran sultana* "es una comedia que es como un cuento peregrino que escribió . . . Cervantes, hombre de caminos y navegaciones mediterráneas" (33). The foreign characters in *La gran sultana* are indeed like pilgrims, but they do not go not in search of moral or spiritual significance, nor do they find their beliefs questioned by their new experiences. If anything it is the Turks that seem to be most receptive to their Other, a notion which once again reinforces Peirce's emphasis on cultural heterogeneity within the Ottoman empire. Furthermore, this plurality present in the Ottoman courts contests traditional, hegemonic orientalism. Despite their indisposition to adapt to their new surroundings, in Constantinople the Spanish characters of *La gran sultana* move back and forth within social categories with astounding fluidity. They are able to experiment with their shifting senses of self in a more liberated manner than they could have at home. In the Ottoman court difference is celebrated and wisely utilized to create harmony within its empire, rather than racist discord as in the case of Spain. Anderson writes that precisely because this work is set in faraway Turkey the principal Christian characters of both sexes are free to make more daring personal decisions, such as the Sultana herself, Catalina, who throughout the play fights for her right to wear Christian clothing and even confronts her imprisoner, the Sultan (42).[44]

[44]This comes in stark contrast to the Christian slaves in Cervantes' Algerian plays, who must charm their captors into sympathy in order to ensure survival.

The apex of the utopian future that Cervantes imagines is symbolically engendered by the Sultan's offspring. As the play's title suggests, this work creates an environment of *mestizaje*, of old Christian lineage bound with an intrinsically and increasingly heterogeneous eastern Mediterranean empire. This ambivalent amalgam of transreligious and even transracial characters is edified with Catalina's pregnancy and thus marks a poignant contrast between Cervantes' earlier captivity plays, which center wholly on the struggle between self and Other, mainly between renegade and Christian. Cervantes seems to express through the Sultan his opposition to the concept of *limpieza de sangre*. This baby, in the Sultan's eyes (and in Cervantes' words) will be superior because of his dual heritage—Catalina and the Sultan have made an "otomano español," or perhaps it could be understood to be an "español otomano" (II, 1217). Regardless of which word is the noun and which is the adjective, considering that Cervantes wrote this play for immediate publishing and supervised its pulication (a rarity in his time), we could assume that he might have at least seen some value in interracial relationships as well as sensed the absurdity of a monolithic Spanish-ness. He further evokes a union of the two empires by bringing together their symbols: The Turco refers to himself as a "*león*" on multiple instances, to which Catalina counters that her children will be "*águilas,*" significant as the eagle figures prominently on the Habsburg family crest (II, 1221-23). Yet not only does this play end on a sort of utopic hybridity but it also, as Alcalá Galán points out, renders cultural, ethnic and religious distinctions baseless, "erod[ing] the function of the stereotype in the construction of the collective imaginary" (29). Furthermore, the play asks us to consider who is conquering whom at its close—has Christianity prevailed over Islam (metaphorically reproduced by the Sultan's emasculation versus Catalina's empowerment), or is Cervantes asking the reader/audience to decide if a work of this sort must definitively portray the dominance of

one culture over another? Confoundingly, although typical of the genre, *La gran sultana* seems to celebrate heteronormativity despite its progressivism elsewhere, condemning polygamy and homosexuality and, like so many other *comedias*, reinforces the notion that women of this era were always expected to either enter a convent or to marry.

Whereas Casalduero argued in 1951 that this play stages the triumph of Christianity over Islam in a Biblical sense, I find that it does not seem to exalt one religion over another, especially in considering the question of miscegenation (139). If Catalina was so insistent on the maintenance of her own religion when she commands the Sultan to conform to her sexual restrictions, will she be equally demanding in regard to their child's religion? Perhaps not, as Cervantes' careful phrasing seems to imply that the child will be firstly an "otomano." Again, the Turks often welcomed Christian captives into their harems and there are indeed historical accounts of Christians who have become a Valide Sultan, or the mother of a Sultan. Yet in order to maintain the empire's continuity under the law of Islam, and despite the Ottoman's tolerance elsewhere, it is likely that the child will worship Mohammed. So it seems to me unreasonable to presume that Christendom has finally found victory in Constantinople, when as a religion it has no future in the Islamic Ottoman's system of governance. Once again, in the final moments of the play religious categories break down in the face of conflict, and like gender its "reality" comes into question. Perhaps religious accord is not even the argument of *La gran sultana*. In fact, I am not convinced that Cervantes is necessarily trying to force a conclusive outcome in this play. Instead it seems to me that he confirms his increasing sensitivity to questions of religious and ethnic (in)tolerance, an awareness made especially notable throughout his evolution as an author. Cervantes reminds us, as readers and spectators, that performances aren't relegated to the stage. This cultural malleability and Cervantine relativism to which so many scholars have pointed reaches a fever pitch

in *La gran sultana* because of its unique cultural backdrop and because of its use of gender play. Lamberto's protean qualities might differ greatly from the steadfastness of Doña Catalina, but because these two dramatize the way in which identity formation occurred and reoccurred during the Golden Age, Cervantes manages to upend Spanish dogma. The body, traditionally viewed as sinful in Christianity, becomes the site of cultural inscription and playfulness in Cervantine drama, something otherwise impossible outside of the *corral*.

Imagination and history, just as with literature, dramatize the distance and the difference between that which is familiar and the exotic. Yet the power of the theater allows us to see ourselves as the Other sees us by inverting and subverting our expectations. The Christian Catalina unexpectedly earns the title of Sultana, whereas Lamberto, disguised as the ultimate Other (woman and Muslim), must apostatize in order to escape punishment. The result of this Cervantine theatrical mirroring is that a culture typically seen as barbarous, hostile and cruel (the Muslim world) is at times presented as cordial and considerate. The Sultan's laissez-faire attitude about religion, allowing Catalina to remain Catholic, is unexpected and in profound contrast with Catalina's stubborn piety. This suggests that Cervantes might have intended to portray Islam as a less important religious culture, less foundational or genuine than Christianity, or perhaps it hints at a lack of true faith on the part of the Sultan, himself the leader of a religious empire. Catalina is meant to be understood as a noble and devoted follower of Christianity, but at times her hardheadedness is fastidious when posited against the Sultan's willfulness to accommodate her wishes.

Cultural perspective in *La gran sultana* becomes so dislocated such that the unexpected coexistence of these two cultures, as well as the incorporation of Christians into the Muslim world, destabilizes the nationalist discourse of seventeenth-century Spain

and interrupts the Ottoman-Spanish imperial divide. As Elaine Showalter reminds us, "In periods of cultural insecurity, when there are fears of regression and degeneration, the longing for strict border controls around the definition of gender, as well as race, class and nationality, becomes especially intense" (4). Of course, while Showalter studies France in the early twentieth century her observations thoroughly resonate in regard to the Spanish essentialism of the seventeenth century, the result of a fervent religious *Reconquista*, of systematic racism propagated by the crown, and of an increasing anxiety due to the ever-widening definition of heresy. Those who elided these regulations were indefinable and thus represented an ever-lurking subversive danger. What arose from this culture of fear and paranoia were unattainable, monolithic standards of male and female, Christian, Jew and Muslim, standards to which it was nearly impossible to conform. In a hybridized ethnic context such as this the differences between Self and Other are not preserved, and nor is the belief that these two selves are so radically different. Clothing becomes the only signifier of difference, and the lack of markers of differentiation in this instance leads instead to a racialization of difference.

Similar to Phelan, Greenblatt attests that self-fashioning always involves some experiences of threat or loss of self, an internal drama that Cervantes sets to stage in *La gran sultana* (9). After a deep existential crisis in which she even considers martyrdom, Catalina emerges resolutely as a woman and Christian. Similarly, Lamberto makes a dramatic switch to Islam in the face of severe punishment for his transgressions, and the Sultan mitigates his own religious eccentricities to find common ground with his bride. This quick and albeit dirty resolution, so characteristic of Golden Age drama, also risks reverting back to the binary since Lamberto, the perverted cross-dresser, stays put in the sexually unrestrained East, and Catalina ends up in what is more or less a marriage of convenience. Cervantine theater in particular allows us to see ourselves as the Other does,

and for an early modern audience composed mainly of Catholics they must face their own tragic reality as "embusteros, arrogantes e hipócritas," just like anyone else (Castillo 225). This play renders arbitrary the religious and geographical divide between East and West, yet importantly Cervantes does not seem to be advocating for any sort of political agreement between Christianity and Islam. Rather, *La gran sultana* is a testament not just to tolerance but also to receptiveness, one that begs its characters and audience to simply try to understand one another and to find a peaceful, convivial accord, leading Cervantes "to propose a more porous, less exclusive concept of national identity" (Childers xi).

During this epoch the world was just beginning to emerge from a closed-loop of networks and of relations with only a small portion of the planet, such that even once larger societies and empires came about most people knew very little about the ways of other lands, and in this sense could primarily only have an effect on those within a very close proximity (Appiah xii). However, by transporting his characters to the cultural crossroads of Constantinople and staging their remarkable gendered and religious transgressions, Cervantes hints at some major tenants of Kwame Anthony Appiah's *Cosmopolitanism* (2006), in which Appiah longs for a world where we can regard each other as a branch of a single family and recognize our obligations to one another, obligations that are not bound by kinship or religion but by our shared human experience (xv). Appiah observes that the Germans, by contrast, during the rise of Hitler demanded "a kind of loyalty to one portion of humanity—a nation, a class—that ruled out loyalty to all humanity," an anti-cosmopolitanism (xvi). The Spanish crown, in its violent process of Christianization during the Counter-Reformation, wanted the same of its subjects: unanimous, unilateral loyalty. This is precisely contrary to the message conveyed throughout *La gran sultana*. And so despite Cervantes' role in creating and fomenting an early modern Spanish Orientalism as I discussed earlier, he is also exemplary of an early

modern cosmopolitanism that is characterized by hybridity but does not undermine diversity. In *La gran sultana* as in a vast number of his works, Cervantes demonstrates a genuine fascination with life under Islamic Ottoman rule and, importantly, in spite of the trauma he once suffered at the hands of Muslim captors. It is significant that Cervantes does not advocate for strict acculturation, as he seems to realize that the appropriation of one culture and the complete erasure of another is always a violent act. The Sultana and Sultan, for example, arrive at a tenuous system of tolerance of each other's customs (although arguably the Sultan is far more acquiescent to the signs of Christianity than Catalina is to those of Islam). Coexistence and *trans*culturation, then, become the ultimate aspiration for a story which, initially, relentlessly and parodically paints the Spanish as stalwart—even anti-Semitic—and fashions the Turco as an oppressive tyrant. Later, however, Cervantes doubles back on this notion, humanizing the Ottomans and mocking the Spanish to the extent that we are forced to bridge a connection between Islam and Christianity, between Spain's King Philip II and the Gran Turco, "not *through* identity but *despite* difference" (Appiah 135, original emphasis).

By setting this work in the Near East, Cervantes upends the idea of a purely local identity, one tied to geography, and undoes the ties of nation and class that the Spanish Crown relied so heavily upon, especially in the midst of expulsions and religious fanaticism. Yet for Spain, the idea of "local" was indeed under intense scrutiny. Internal heterogeneity and a history of "*convivencia*" meant that the local was also the exotic, the self was always also the Other. However, in focusing on what they consciously chose not to be—heathen, Jew or Muslim—the seventeenth-century Spanish cultural authorities willed themselves the religious enemies of an entire part of the world (and of their own citizens) and systematically created a discourse of religion-based racism that disavowed one cultural patrimony in favor of another. Christianity in this sense forced itself to be the

dominant history of a nascent Spain. Brook similarly contemplates how some countries have voluntarily, even intentionally, inherited a cultural tradition. In speaking of how the Romans copied Greek artwork he wonders,

> If even the Romans needed to will themselves Western, what does the vaunted East-West distinction even mean? If Westernness or Easternness is a choice rather than an immutable fact, what power does it really have? Though it feels like an immutable inheritance, whether a people sees itself as Eastern or Western is actually a conscious decision that only later becomes an unconscious patrimony. (392)

Cervantes shows how the Spanish willed themselves into a nascent concept of the "West," a region traditionally associated with Christianity. But at the same time he carefully does not negate any sense of Spanish Catholic patrimony. In fact, Cervantes even goes to great lengths to preserve it and to even perform its ascendance on the stage. However, he nimbly avoids confusing religion and ethnicity with any sense of a belonging that is necessarily bound to territory. *La gran sultana* engages in a dialogue across and through identities and lands, exposing the permeability of the borders surrounding categories of gender, race and religion. His engagement with these abstract concepts and with the policies of the Spanish Crown leave the audience and readers questioning their own common humanity. While strict cosmopolitanism potentially has the power to erode cultural difference, thus devoiding areas and nations of their most meaningful traditions and uniqueness, the type of cosmopolitanism that *La gran sultana* approaches admits the fallibility of both seventeenth-century Spanish and Turkish politics while it affirms the possibility of deference in spite of difference. It is this connectedness and respect that explains why *La gran sultana* continues to intrigue and confound modern-day critics, calling into question what we know of Cervantes' canon and of each other.

Chapter 3: Feminizing the Enemy

One of the most unique sources of information on early modern Spanish captivity is the Doctor Antonio de Sosa's *Topographia e historia general de Argel* (1614), which documents daily life in early modern Algiers and is a testament to cross-cultural contact between Christian and Muslims nations. At the time that Sosa was captive (1577-81), Algiers was a bustling commercial seaport with a robust economy that supported itself on privateering and commercial exchange. The city, at the time an Ottoman feudal outpost, served as a testament to the fluidity of boundaries of identity in this time period, and to the circulation of people, material goods and knowledge in the early modern Mediterranean. In his study, Sosa fashions North Africa and its people against Spanish religious, gendered and racial paradigms, social constructs that were transported to Algiers through the seafaring networks that also brought him to the region. His analysis of Algerian history and culture hinges on paradigms of masculinity and femininity that fall concretely on the Christian side of the religious divide, frameworks that are incongruous and ultimately do not facilitate his description of Algiers, a city with a historical religious lineage separate from Sosa's. And so despite his attempts to be objective in certain portrayals of Muslim culture, Sosa's momentary objectivity is betrayed by an underlying agenda that reveals itself in powerful negative imagery that is present throughout his work. Using theories of gender and masculinity, in this chapter I complicate these theories introduced earlier in order to discuss how Sosa's goal is to feminize his Muslim enemy so as to reaffirm and reassert his religious and cultural superiority. I argue that this is done as a response to the "othering" he experiences as a result of his abject state of captivity. And although he is successful in this endeavor, he also presents an alternative conceptualization of Muslim masculinity to his Spanish

audience. Importantly, this alternate masculinity is not based on Christian military norms, which I suggest is the dominant paradigm under which Sosa writes, and the framework that time and time again fails him. But while Sosa's ambition is to orientalize and degrade Islam, he (perhaps unknowingly) also presents his early modern audience with the human side of Islam and portrays an alternate way of life that is subversive but also appealing. This aspect is one of many that contribute to the *Topographia*'s staying power throughout the last 400 years.

The *Topographia* was published just four years before Sosa's friend and fellow captive Miguel de Cervantes died, and ever since it has intrigued scholars not only for its astounding breadth and intricacy, but also because of the mysterious circumstances around its author. María Antonia Garcés' extensive archival works in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, as well as in Italy, Spain and North Africa, reveal the details of Sosa's captivity. In her introduction to *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam* (2011), she details: When he was captured in 1577, Sosa was traveling from Barcelona back to Spanish Sicily, where he was a member of church hierarchies and was to begin an ecclesiastical post with the Sicilian branch of the Inquisition. Along with his entire family, his geographic rerouting and unforeseeable trauma began when Barbary pirates intercepted their ship. In Algiers he spent nearly five years suffering what Garcés describes as a particularly painful captivity. He was eventually liberated in 1581 after a daring escape, and then returned to Madrid. For centuries the consensus was that a certain Diego de Haedo wrote the *Topographia*, an abbot whose name appears in the book's dedicatory. But because of the intricate detail of the *Topographia*, it is unlikely that the author of such a work could have been capable of creating such a masterpiece without also serving as an eyewitness. This was the beginning of centuries of confusion about the book's author. Garcés sets the record straight: the *Topographia* was edited by Diego de

Haedo and prepared for publication in Valladolid. This Haedo attributed the work to his uncle of the same name, claiming that he received the manuscript from the elder Haedo while he was in Palermo, Italy. Nonetheless, all versions of the *Topographia*, and essentially any critical study mentioning it, attribute it to Haedo through at least the 1970s.

Garcés responds to the name swap by explaining that it probably occurred because Sosa ran afoul with the Catholic church after returning from Algiers for living with a woman (supposedly his sister) while he was there, and also for taking an oath as a lay priest even though he was an ordained Augustinian friar, thereby changing rank within his order and committing a forbidden act that essentially rendered him an apostate (67). Because of these troubles, it is possible that after its transcription, Sosa's manuscript changed hands and was ultimately published by the younger Haedo. Of course, the possibility that something more sinister was occurring exists, such as the possibility that Haedo wanted to take credit for this masterful work. To the contrary, Daniel Eisenberg argued in 1996 that the author was Miguel de Cervantes. He rationalizes this decision by drawing comparisons between the quality of the book's prose and its merits as "una obra histórica ejemplar, verídica y detallada," words associated, of course, with Cervantes, author of a number of so-called *novelas ejemplares* (40). The friendship between Sosa and Cervantes in Algiers was well documented, and therefore Eisenberg was, not unreasonably, compelled to assert Cervantes' role in the creation of this work. But already by the time that Eisenberg asserts these claims, Diego de Haedo's authorship had been called into great doubt as it was discovered that not only are there two Diego de Haedos, but neither spent any time in Algiers (Garcés, *An Early Modern* 52). Yet lending to Eisenberg's claims is the fact that the real author of the work did not publish it under his own name. As both Garcés and Eisenberg concede, placing the name of a cleric on the

book's cover likely facilitated its publication.[45] Nonetheless, Garcés' argument resolves this mystery once and for all, and doubts about its authorship can be finally put to rest.

Issues of authorship aside, this book serves as an encyclopedia of Algerian customs as well as an important relic of the tensions between Christianity and Islam in the early modern. Sosa immediately and explicitly states his intention for this work: to benefit Christianity in their struggle against their religious foes. Indeed, the first line of the *Topographia* reads: "La ciudad que conúnmente llamamos Argel, y que hoy día es tan afamada por los daños tan grandes y tan continuos que de sus habitadores reciben todas las riberas y provincias de la Christiandad, está puesta en la provincia de Africa" (Haedo 15).[46] But even before that, Sosa alerts the readers to his intentions even more explicitly in the full title of the book: "Do se veran casos estraños, muertes espantosas, y tormentos exquisitos, que conviene se entiendan en la Christiandad con mucha doctrina, y elegancia curiosa." The Royal Censor also notes that it is curiously elegant and that it should be published "por el mucho fruto que a la Christiandad se la ha de seguir" (7).

By the mid-sixteenth century it is possible that there were as many as 15,000-20,000 Spanish captives on the Barbary Coast (Garcés *An early modern* 86). As the threat of invasions and kidnappings increased, so too did the fear associated with Spain's neighbors to the South. Whether or not this paranoia was justifiable aside, these circumstances led to a culture of anxiety, to an insecurity directed primarily at those of Muslim descent. The consequences of this were xenophobic policies of lineage, known as *limpieza de sangre*, which eventually led to the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. As

[45]Jean Canavaggio has also rung in on the debate of the book's authorship, "se ha hecho observar que los episodios que desfilan sobre el tablado (de *Los baños de Argel*) se corresponden por punto con los que refiere el P. Haedo en su conocida *Topographía e Historia general de Argel*" ("*Los baños de Argel*" 21).
[46]The 1929 edition of this work that I cite in this chapter lists Diego de Haedo as its author. Therefore, it is referenced using Haedo as the author even though I have established this to be false.

Edward Friedman writes, "Faced with what was regarded as a deadly threat from the Ottomans, Spain could not tolerate the existence within its boundaries of a group whose first loyalties were believed to be, and often were, to Islam" (xxiii). Friedman further reveals that indeed substantial documentation exists to corroborate this sentiment, including letters written by North African Muslims and Moriscos (xxiii).

Made up of two dominant worldviews locked in a struggle for political domain, this geographic divide is bridged and simultaneously amplified by Sosa's text. He places himself within a Greek and Roman tradition of traveling and describing, naming authors like Ptolemy, Pliny, and Herodotus, authors who he associates with his own Spanish cultural legacy and who, in his view, represent what would become the Christian faith. Sosa mentions Algiers' history according to the Greeks, to whom the area was known as *Iol Cesárea*. The region contained many similar features to those described by these Greek travelers, such as a port and another island within the port area, which lends the city its Greek name. Sosa continues to narrate the area's history, remarking that after the fall of the Roman Empire, the Vandals came over from Spain, during which time the cities were "saqueadas, destruidas y asoladas de aquella fiera y bárbara gente" (21). But although Sosa may hold the Vandals in great disdain, as seen in this excerpt, ultimately it is the rise of Islam that distresses him the most: "Lo mismo sería sin duda después cuando . . . en el año del Señor de 697, poco más o menos, los alarbes conquistaron y arruinaron toda África" (21-22). These two nations, Muslim and Vandal, that Sosa labels "bárbaras" are distinctly positioned against the Western, Roman tradition which Sosa so laboriously sites, and of which he aims to become a part. Of course, this is an unfair contrast as much of Greek culture was influenced by what we could refer to today as the Middle East, and indeed Greek lineage extends outward towards the East and South, even into North Africa from where Sosa writes. Western-ness might seem like something that

can be inherited, but indeed it is a conscious decision made evident by Sosa in moments such as this, when he literally forces himself in to the "Western" canon.

Being a Christian in Algiers was relatively tolerated. They were a *dhimmi*, or a non-Muslim minority group that were citizens of an Islamic state. Their rights were fully protected according to this law, but certain restrictions existed. For example, they were heavily taxed and did not enjoy many political rights. On the other hand, they were able to consume alcohol and pork even though Islamic law forbids it. Furthermore, captives were often tempted to convert to Islam so as to experience freedom, as underlying the economic gain of taking a Christian captive was the end goal of asserting Islamic superiority. Christians such as Sosa and Cervantes resisted this temptation in order to preserve their spirituality, their *alma*, and ensure its entry into Heaven. And so although Algiers was a melting pot of Judaism, Islam and Christianity, the Christian captives went to great lengths to maintain their religious practices. Garcés documents that during Lent entire masses were performed in the baños,

> . . . and those whose masters would permit them were invited to attend the *disciplina de sangre*, which was a flagellation ceremony for penitents, held every Friday during Lent after the *baño* was closed for the night. It was apparently a great effort for the captives to participate in this ceremony, since their chains and shackles made it difficult for them to kneel and move about. (*An Early Modern* 82)

Religious fervor was not absent from the baños, and was perhaps even more pronounced because of the close quarters and siege mentality that many of the captives felt. Furthermore, apostates could not be rescued and redeemed by Catholic missionaries. And so although renouncing Christianity in favor of Islam might have won a captive his liberty, this practice was discouraged among slave masters. But the appeal was great, as Muslims could not be sent to row in the galleys. But on the contrary, Christian apostates could not be ransomed off for a healthy sum. Instead, slave owners granted a surprisingly

large amount of religious freedom as a way to placate the slaves and to ensure economic gain at the same time. Since many captives did maintain their faith, they hoped to be rescued and to return to their native Spain. Stories brought back from Barbary such as the ones told by Sosa and, as we have seen, the captivity plays of Cervantes, fueled a massive campaign to fundraise to liberate the captives. These propaganda machines galvanized the suffering of the Christian coreligionists in Spain and likely fueled an already raging fire of religious intolerance and mistrust of the Moriscos, in particular.

More than just a "topography," Sosa also attempts to write an ethnography, a genre that in our own time has become aligned with anthropology and travel writing. Ethnography can be understood using its Greek roots—*ethnos* meaning people or nation, and *grapho*, to write. Sosa writes the Algerians and attempts to contain all that it means to be Algerian, North African, generally, and Ottoman even, within the confines of a book. This weighty task is accomplished on both subjective and objective terms. In presenting so-called empirical data in a book whose detail is unparalleled for the time period, the work contributes significantly to our understanding of sixteenth-century Algiers. But just as a debate about the possibility of impartial witnessing exists in regard to anthropology (Margaret Mead, for example), so, too, does Sosa fall victim to his own religious and racial proclivities. Sosa writes from an undeniably subjective position as a leader in the Catholic Church and as a slave who believes he holds the moral high ground. Like Garcés and others who advocate for positioning Sosa within the context of his own observations, I agree that ethnographies should be considered interpretive, not objective (*An Early Modern* 49). Sosa writes from the position of the powerless, and so through his pen he inflicts and imposes his perceived superiority on Algerian customs and people, revealing nearly as much about his self as he does about his captors. "By debasing the image of their rivals, Western Christians were enhancing their own self-

images and trying to build self-confidence in the face of a more powerful and more culturally sophisticated enemy," explain David Blanks and Michael Frassetto in their introduction to *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (1999). Blanks and Frassetto further highlight the fact that alongside hostility existed many "less inflammatory" representations of Islam, representations that evolved "in an increasingly complex and mutually interdependent world" (4). And so similarly, and besides the salacious full title of the *Topographia*, Sosa does seem to want to give an accurate, definitive description of early modern Algeria alongside his political motives.

Sosa's condemnation of Islam stems from a palpable fear of militant Islam, as he is a first-hand witness and victim of the darker side of this conflict. Bruce Taylor describes captivity, and the fear of it, "as the most tangible aspect of this continuing confrontation . . . It was . . . a fate from which no socioeconomic group could consider itself exempt" (85). These hardships, coupled with his own position as a member of the Church, likely colored his perspective of Islam and its practitioners. Over the entirety of the three books of the *Topographia*, he goes to great lengths to document the horrors of slavery in North Africa. But although Sosa describes his captivity as horrendous, he was clearly able to move within a startlingly diverse crowd. Many captives were allowed to work and to earn a wage in order to pay their ransom, and thus able to experience Algiers outside of their captor's home. When they were let out of the public slave quarters, "city slaves," as Garcés titles them, "were allowed to roam the city, dragging their chains after them," as they worked to pay off their ransom (*A Captive's* 39). Sosa was clearly one of those prisoners able to move, albeit slowly, about the area. He mentions his arguments about religion with Algerians, and describes with detail the shop owners and merchants of the souks. At times Sosa speaks from personal experience, using the first person "I" to describe his conversations with interlocutors from a wide range of social networks.

Sosa's ability to move back and forth between boundaries of religious, social and ethnic networks is indicative of the overwhelmingly connected early modern Mediterranean and speaks to the fluidity of relations within this geographic area.

MEN AT WORK

Sosa writes from an imaginary that includes his Portuguese upbringing, perhaps with Camoes' *Os Lusíadas* in mind, and certainly with a Christian heteronormativity that is implicit in the Catholic Church. After all, Ferdinand and Isabella were lauded as the most Catholic monarchs. And thus as Gerry Milligan and Jane Tylus mention in their introduction to *The Poetics of Masculinity in Early Modern Italy and Spain* (2010), "The dominant expression of elite Spanish masculinity as the sixteen century began was the Christian knight, committed to purifying the nation of Jews and Muslims following the 1492 expulsions. Such a project was emboldened by the feminization of this non-Christian Other" (23). Furthermore, Milligan and Tylus also note that the word "masculinity" did not technically exist in Italian or Spanish in early modernity, bur rather appeared first in the eighteenth century (28).

But Spain had long been the land of the "other" after nearly 800 years of Islamic rule, and thus masculinity based on a wholly Christian foundation was relatively new to the area. Nonetheless, its maintenance and adherence were strictly imposed by norms of clothing and behavior. Sosa embodies a clerical masculinity and a compulsory heterosexuality in this time period that consisted of chastity, honor and humility, a norm that he transports into his five years of captivity.[47] His writing fits into a nationalist and imperialist discourse of hegemony that advocated for Anti-Semitism and Anti-Islamism.

[47]He might have broken this vow during his time in Madrid after captivity, where he lived with his "widowed sister," as I mentioned earlier.

Questions of identity in the sixteenth century become inexorably wound up in notions of masculinity and femininity, during a time in which

> . . . the country's subjects and perhaps especially its ranks of elites adjusted to a new national identity: Spain under the Habsburgs ceased to be a self-contained peninsular kingdom dominated by Castile and became a seat of a pan-European and incipiently global empire. Surprisingly, perhaps, one aspect of accommodating this shift was accepting a profound revision in the ways in which relationships between masculinity and nation, masculinity and letters . . . were conceived of in the social and cultural imagination. (Middlebrook 143)

Further, as Sosa writes from an incontrovertibly orientalist perspective, as a "Western" ethnographer attempting to contain Algeria's history in a few hundred pages, Sosa commits an act of violent domination that bears striking similarities to contemporary Saidian Orientalism. He speaks for the men and women of this vibrant country as a ventriloquist, asserting his dominion and forcing his masculinity upon them. Sosa attempts to convince the Spanish crown to invade Algiers and rescue the captives, a fact corroborated by Garcés in her introduction to *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam* when she describes how Sosa might have been acting as a spy for Phillip II (37). The act of invasion, or penetration, would be an assertion of Spain's supremacy, its masculinity, over Islam and its corsairs. Male masculinity, in this sense, is held in the hands of cultural domination.

In Sosa's endeavor to capture Algerian history and to be "objective," he must also portray Algerian people, humans, and the way that they fit into and shape the cultural fabric of North Africa. Sosa humanizes the Algerians in spite of their faults. To him, an early modern Spaniard, Muslims are, as he goes to great lengths to point out, sodomites and cruel. Yet they are also pious, orderly and virtuous. This humanizing component stems directly from Sosa' theological background, which holds that God could not have created any being without goodness, a fact that he expounds in the following manner:

> Ninguna cosa crió Dios a la cual (juntamente con el ser natural) no dotase de alguna propiedad y virtud buena, aunque a los hombres sea oculta… no dexan de tener los moros y turcos de Argel algo de bueno y virtudes, algunas humanas y naturales, las cuales, aunque no sean tantas que puedan excusar ni encubrir sus grandes vicios, no por eso dexaremos de apuntarlas y escribirlas. (181-82)

In presenting a human element to Algerian Muslims and Turks, Sosa also presents an alternative masculinity, one that is not rooted in Christian paradigms. This masculinity is in direct contrast to militant Christian masculinity, which is the framework that he brings along to captivity in Islam, and is prevalent in Spain since at least the Middle Ages. However, just as his descriptions of Algerian life and the customs of this North African city and its environs vacillate dramatically between approval and condemnation, a similarly indecisive attitude is evident in this respect as well. But what is most surprising about Sosa's description of this alternative Algerian/Islamic/Turkish/Corsair masculinity is that he finds parts of it to be completely reasonable, and perhaps even desirable. This is most salient because Sosa has many reasons to loathe and resent the corsairing men who took him captive. However, he is able to maintain an objective distance in certain matters, for example recording with clarity both the "virtues" and "vices" of these gender norms.

But Sosa's objectivity was always hyperbole, however. Although much of his work is understood to be a highly accurate depiction of early modern Algiers, the objective stance that he proclaims so triumphantly is indefensible. Rather, Sosa uses this posturing to feign absolute truthfulness in a strategic attempt to present salacious details that might light a fire in the hearts of Christian Spaniards. Research has corroborated many of the details of Sosa's *Topographia*, but the presentation of objectivity was a common Renaissance trope with its roots in humanism. To some extent, it could be argued that Sosa is *too* factual, presenting intimate details of Algerian life that would likely have been unavailable to someone like him. Furthermore, although countering one

chapter called "Virtues" with another titled "Vices" might seem at first glance as an attempt to remain balanced, the fact of the matter is that the two sides of the scale do not align. The "Vices" chapter is much more extensive than its counterpart, further uncovering Sosa's political agenda. And although Sosa presents not only Islamic culture but also many facets of Islamic theology, as Daniel Vitkus explains, "These theologians' treatments of Islam were often produced as part of a polemical project to promote Christianity and to refute Islam" (208).

José Cartagena Calderón implies in *Masculinidades en obras* (2008) that in the early modern, "la masculinidad se caracteriza por su conflictividad, inseguridad, o inestabilidad" (10). And although Cartagena Calderón is speaking of early modern drama in particular, Sosa's liminal state of captivity magnifies this gendered instability. Calderón also shows how New World luxuries afforded to nobility created a culture of excess that began to reshape ideal masculinity in early modern Spain. Sosa, however, is in a state of lack of all of these excesses. In speaking of early modern European culture generally, Todd Reeser characterizes masculinity as an attempt at moderation, a stoic middle ground that didn't allow for excess, whether material or emotional (11). Reeser doesn't consider early modern Spain in specific, but I find this theory to be particularly insightful in the case of Sosa, who is constantly trying to offset his own sense of self against the perceived excesses of his Muslim counterparts. Sosa attempts to situate his body as a sort of middle ground, as a logical, measured, unbiased and trustworthy narrator of Algerian customs. By contrasting his Christian ways with the perceived excesses of Muslim masculinity, he creates a dichotomy that is impossible to reconcile.

Similar to how we understand femininity, masculinity is an unstable sociocultural construction that is dependent upon time and place, and therefore any definition of masculinity cannot be lent an atemporal quality. Being as it may that early modern Spain

was a time of profound social and cultural transformation, we can infer that this might have had a great effect on the construction of a masculine sense of identity, just as I have explored in other chapters with regard to religious and female identity. Further, strict rules of decorum during this era dictated the parameters in which one could appropriately dress and act according to class, gender, religion and age (*Masculinidades*, Calderón 23). I have discussed previously how Cervantes undermines the atomization of identity and a strict gender binary that has become associated with pre-enlightenment Europe. Sosa, like Cervantes' characters in *La gran sultana*, transports a sense of Spanish normativity with him to Algiers, where he finds Christian heteronormativity challenged by Islamic culture. Women, as we will see, did not act "appropriately," and nor did males adhere to the strict sense of heterosexuality and paternalism that were hallmarks of state and religiously motivated norms. And in speaking of this gendered binary that was insisted upon but always at risk in early modern Spain, we see Sosa confronted with a society in which racial and religious binaries were constantly being undermined by slippery renegades and white-skinned Muslims.

Traditional medieval Spanish masculinity was based upon fiercely Christian warrior paradigms. El Cid became the reigning symbol of the ideal Christian man through his tales of strength, aggression and might in the name of a Christian God. During the so-called "Reconquista" of Muslim Spain by Christian forces, ideals of manhood were shaped by legendary males such as him, which circled in the medieval ether. Ruy Díaz de Vivar and the oral tales of his triumphs shaped the cultural imaginary. Poems such as this were widespread in this time period and were recited aloud in town squares. The *mester de juglaría*, for example, was an entire genre of oral poetry that treated popular topics. One can imagine that issues of captivity and Christian-Muslim relations were frequently retold in these settings. They describe noble men whose honor was always at stake and

was ultimately reclaimed though virtuous deeds, long, virile beards and astonishing strength. But, as Leah Middlebrook discovers, in the era following Carlos V's ascension to the throne we see, instead, a

> . . . shift away from discourses framing the sovereign virile agency of the Spanish hero [which] paved the way for figures such as the Cid to be eclipsed by the rival figure of the prudent courtier, the Stoic administrator who devoted fewer days to war making than he did to signing the orders and circulars by which the far-flung empire was governed. (149)

Sidney Donnell similarly finds that virility becomes central to both nation and empire:

> Many Western European people staked their reputations and very survival on the belief that masculinity is ultimately defined by horrid feats of conquest in both national and international arenas. Spain . . . was built on the manly values expressed in popular medieval epics like *Poema de Mio Cid* . . . a work whose titular hero served as a role model for those who would later support Castilian hegemony" (41).

Dian Fox similarly points to Habsburg rule as a time of radical Christian masculine esteem, in which the "success" of the Reconquista can be attributed to the idealized Christian efforts during the many years of conflict (296). Masculinity becomes constructed through and dependent upon this militant aggression and virility, and those who did not conform to this paradigm were cast as inferior outsiders. Sosa demonizes the North African other in precisely this way, by discursively emasculating them through the violent act of ethnographic reporting. But Cartagena-Calderón similarly points out that in this time period we also witness a shift away from purely militaristic masculinity and towards a more urban self, as the feudal warrior of El Cid is instead replaced by the lettered man of the court, "Displaced from the battlefield by innovations in military technology, and no longer proofing the martial masculinity of his warlike ancestors in the emasculating culture of the court . . . the nobleman's . . . effeminate demeanor were thought to be dangerously transgressive" ("Of Petty Fops" 322).

This warrior supremacy is not available to Sosa in this instance, nor is the image of the urban courtier, as he is captive and cannot physically display these traits. Perhaps for this reason, among many, Sosa attempts to feminize the enemy, and even the city itself, in his description of how to penetrate Algiers and the ways in which Muslim men and women fail to live up to his lofty (albeit problematic) standards.[48] Masculinity, at its core, meant in this time and place to serve a Christian god, a feudal master in the sky. As Sosa was a Catholic friar, we can imagine that he might have exhibited these characteristics in an even more extravagant and dedicated fashion, coming closer to a highly desirable state of sainthood. And in an ultimate victory over the Muslim other, Sosa has promised in his church vows to maintain a chaste life, triumphing over his own carnal desires. Muslims, on the other hand, and janissaries in particular, are described as sodomites and pedophiles, lusty others who in his opinion cannot mediate their sexuality.[49]

A "real" man, as Louise Mirrer determines in her study on Medieval Castilian literature, features sexual assertiveness and menacing speech. Masculinity thus becomes something not simply inherent or present through biology but rather something that must be constantly repeated and reinforced (169). She finds evidence of this in not only El Cid, but also in the stories of *El Conde Lucanor* (such as in *cuento* 35, "Lo que sucedió a un mancebo que casó con una muchacha muy rebelde"). Noteworthy is that many medieval ballads, poems and prose patently imitated Islamic literary traditions. Mirrer goes on to find that the way that men were characterized "reflect[ed] masculine ideals shared by

[48]Penetration of the city becomes synonymous with misogynistic representations of the land as feminine, ripe for the penetration of invading conquerors, similar to the way Mary Louise Pratt describes in her landmark *Imperial Eyes* (1992).

[49]Indeed homosexuality represents a dangerous alternative to heterosexuality in which men are not only the penetrators but also those being penetrated.

Christians and Muslims alike, for Christian writers appropriated Muslim culture only to the extent that it affirmed precisely those qualities prized by Christian men like themselves" (170). But despite these shared traditions, a lacuna still exists between the way the Spanish Christians fashioned themselves against their Islamic counterparts. The ideal of the masculine warrior was not mirrored in representations of the enemy. Rather, Muslims are seen as inferior, although the trope of the noble savage holds true in these instances. This reflects an ignorance of medieval writers towards a constructed sense of identity that demarcated the self, and instead reveals an early modern reliance upon the a priori conditions of the body, or sex in this case, as opposed to gender. But where Mirrer sees confusion I see instead conflation—manliness in the medieval and early modern becomes inexorable from sex and gender norms. To be a Christian male meant one thing, whereas to be a Muslim male meant entirely something else. Religious difference indeed did fuel the "Reconquista," but sexual difference was one of the main ways that Christians were able to differentiate between self and other. To be a Muslim man meant something entirely different than to be a Christian one. Sexual, or biological difference was not enough to justify such a crusade.

Since manliness was ultimately obtained through victory and valor on the battlefield, in texts (and in histories) in which Muslims were the vanquished, these writers made it impossible for Muslims to obtain superiority. The losers were fundamentally feminized in the sense that women have always fared worse in religious and military lore. Muslim strongholds were penetrated and conquered in order to demonstrate superiority. Their honor was diminished with these military campaigns, whose purpose "makes clear that, in a society that valued men for their aggressive and militant behavior, the conciliatory or docile Muslim man had no 'proper' place" (Mirrer 153). Nonetheless, it is important to question, as Mirrer does, why Muslim men were

denied these same "masculine" characteristics, and why does "manliness" become a distinguishing factor between Muslims and Christians if religious difference is the fundamental dividing factor (171)? It seems as though by indiscriminately emasculating the Muslims, Christian authors deny their Muslim counterparts any sense of humanity.

The masculine ideal in this time period can be understood to be that of either a militaristic man or that of a lettered, urban man of the court, and thus anyone who did not fall within the strict parameters of these categories of identity was understood as an outsider. The body of the male militaristic aristocrat became the center of attention, and thus the female body was its polar opposite. If the female body was understood to be the inverse of the male's, then the Islamic male (or Jewish, or renegade, or atheist) was similarly set apart and understood as distinctively "other." The body, again viewed as the primary marker of identity in the early modern, was of paramount importance in the transmission of self. During this time period anxieties arising from the strict borders of identity led to experimentation and the satire of such binarisms. But in the years marked by Sosa's captivity in Algiers, the image of the masculine warrior was, as I mentioned, becoming obsolete. And so, Spain searched for a new cultural paradigm against which to affirm her masculinity. Concurrently, the country was in the middle of a real political crisis stemming from the growing Protestant movement in nearby England, and the encroachment of Ottoman sea forces from the East. Simply put,

> Spain mastered the technique of casting itself in a masculine light at others' expense. For instance, supporters of the Spanish state portrayed Ottoman and North African leaders as sodomites . . . Accordingly, the Other is always feminine, weak, and immoral, and we, in our dominant position as Spaniards, are masculine, strong, and on the right side of God. However, when the enemy began to penetrate Spain's defenses at the end of the sixteenth century and the dream of Castilian world domination symbolically began to sink along with its Armada, the nation's exalted image as conquering hero also visibly began to founder. (Donnell 42)

As Spain's military losses compounded, their best defense against cultural and military impotence became a good offense. Rather than subjecting themselves to political feminization, writers like Sosa began to portray the Muslim and Morisco other as weak and feminine. For Sosa, however, his attempt at feminizing his Algerian captors and their co-conspirers is not done nearly as sweepingly. One of the most remarkable traits of Sosa's ethnography (if we accept it as such) is his sensitivity to cultural difference. It is hard to anticipate what will stoke Sosa's ire, but what has struck most every critic to analyze this tome is his subjectivity and objectivity, a tenuous balance that he strikes between fascination and condemnation, condoning and criticizing.

Much of the research into early modern Spanish masculinity focuses on the genre that the time period is most famous for: drama. But since Sosa ostensibly write non-fiction, the stakes for him are much higher. He is in no way toying with, mocking or performing gender as one might see on the stage. Expressions of masculinity for Sosa took another form, one that was on a global stage. Rather than dramatic literature as an outlet for the contemplation of these gender norms, what Sosa would have been channeling was prescriptive literature, in which friars such as Pedro de Leon wrote in their sermons that those men who do not act according to religious gendered norms will be condemned to damnation, and thus it becomes of utmost importance that a man's masculinity is constantly performed and asserted as they were constantly at risk of losing their soul, their dominance, and even their identity (Milligan & Tylus 29). Sosa, captive and reduced to nothing but what his body is capable of as a slave, through the act of writing tries to recuperate his identity by setting himself off against a backdrop of the other, trying to emphasize his sense of self and his autonomy against a reality of shackles and constraint.

A Doctor Without Borders

Sosa purports to document Algiers from the perspective of a cultural historian. And although he does contribute to many damaging stereotypes of Muslims, he also mitigates this sentiment with careful reconciliation and a striking admiration for certain practices. Misinformation on Islam in the early modern was widespread, and these orientalist inaccuracies are perhaps part of the reason that the religion was so fiercely condemned by Christians. Sosa represents one of the most accurate portrayals of Islam in the time period, but is not free from bias. Renegades are the "principals enemigos que el nombre cristiano tiene", he proclaims, whereas Turks are "gente vellísima, torpes y villanos" (55, 51). Part of this was, surely, due to his choice of lifestyle, that of a Christian theologian, writing from the framework of the very institution that promoted the fight against Islam. These Muslim captors represented a terrifying opposition to Christianity. Sosa the Christian priest, in diametric opposition to his Muslim counterparts, denounces Islam, and not without reason:

> His own allusions to his sufferings as a Barbary slave during four and a half years suggest that his captivity was one of the hardest in Algiers. If this ordeal colored his view of the Algerians, especially of the Turks and renegades, it was further darkened by his being a man of the Church, influenced by early modern apologetic treatises that argue for the religious superiority of Christianity over Islam. (Garcés 6)

And Sosa does argue for this perceived superiority, but as an eyewitness he captures not only the cruelty of corsairs also the beauty of many Muslim rituals. This contradiction is part of Sosa's allure—barbaric corsairs inflict terror on Spain's coastlines, but most Algerian Muslim's piety is to be envied. Uniquely, and in spite of his circumstances, Sosa is capable of lauding the Muslims rather than simply reviling them, unlike so many Europeans and Spaniards who held Islam in great disdain and attributed to the religion a number of negative qualities, blanketly demonizing their culture and religion. As Sosa

became immersed in Algerian culture he uniquely channeled the terror and trauma of his captivity into wonder and fascination. Rather than simply disregard the scientific and cultural advances of Islamic culture, he is able to objectively convey these creations, albeit peppered alongside moral condemnation.

Part of Sosa's goal was to expose the terror of the captors and to awaken the hearts and minds of his fellow Spaniards, much like Cervantes' captivity plays do. To begin his work, Sosa provides a "minuciosa descripción de todo aquello que pudiera tener importancia militar" (Sola, "Miguel de Cervantes" 621). For example, Sosa takes inventory of the exact sizes of the city walls, inviting, perhaps, a Christian attack and providing key details to ensure its success. He explains:

> . . . que no va continuando toda igualmente ni siempre por línea derecha de una punta hasta otra, como hace la cuerda artificial del arco de la ballesta; porque antes que llegue a la punta de la mano derecha, por un buen espacio se va saliendo a fuera sobre una punta de tierra que la naturaleza allí crió, que a manera de espolón sale a fuera y se va meter en la mar. (29)

By detailing the city's weak points, he focuses on Algerian's weaknesses, physically in terms of the fortifications and also figuratively in the ways that they do not conform to the ready-made, cookie cutter versions of gender stereotypes. Following a descriptive framework with its roots in medieval literary traditions that governed how each city was to be described; Sosa paints a picture of the city from most general to most specific, (Garcés 17). Camamis also highlights this section as an indication of the author's desire for Christian intervention,

> Los pasajes indican claramente la intervención de un perito militar que recogía los datos desde Argel y con el propósito de facilitar al comandante de una supuesta fuerza invasora de cristianos los conocimientos necesarios para llevar a cabo con éxito el sitio y asalto de las fortificaciones argelinas. (70)

Indeed chapters 5 and 7 are dedicated to the city's fortifications and their deficits, such as sections of the city where there are no fortifications whatsoever as well as precise measurements of the wall's length and width. In case of a defensive attack, though, Sosa also points out the bastions and types of artillery that can be found along the city's fortifications, as well as their age and condition. Later in his work he also describes how easy it would be to choke off the city's water supply. Sosa makes clear that the city is indeed vulnerable to attack, and in highlighting such a deficiency he also subtly insults the handiwork of the Algerian laborers who constructed the city's infrastructure.

Once Sosa has finished speaking of the city's geographical traits and its physical layout, he moves on to the human aspect of his study, the city's inhabitants. Here Sosa creates a taxonomy of "Moors," indicating and acknowledging difference among the diverse communities of people inhabiting this space, rather than homogenizing them. This impulse towards diversity rather than homogenization is remarkable for the time period and goes against the grain of what we might expect from an early modern Spanish author, especially one who, rightfully, is resentful due to having been taken captive. Sosa writes that the people of this region are generally divided into three kinds: Moors, Turks and Jews. Christians, on the other hand, are not ever there by will, he writes, but always arrive as captives and number into the tens of thousands (46). He begins his description of the Moors by remarking on the color of their skin: they are partly white and partly tan and well proportioned. The women are particularly beautiful and are all white-skinned (46). They work in various pursuits, many as merchants, and some as farmers. This description is necessarily out of the ordinary of what we might come to expect from Sosa, but his attention to the light color of these Moor's skin is notable simply because it places them more in line with the "look" of a Spaniard and contrasts fiercely with dramatic representations of Moors on the Spanish stage. Vitkus remarks that the stage Moor of this

time period was usually an actor in blackface: "White Europeans interpreted the blackness of Moors as a sign of in-born evil . . . skin color was the outward sign of an inherited curse . . . the color of the devils, burnt black by the flames of hell" (224). Given that the word "Moor" is not a racial term, but rather an ethnic or regional one, it is notable that Sosa does not subscribe to this stereotype and instead lends to this vague taxonomical term his own descriptors.

These Moors dress in wide swaths of linen that form tunics, and the men wear "zapatos a la turquesca, y algunos con unas chinelas muy pulidas de colores, abiertas por delante y altas un poco como chinelas de mujeres, en las cuales traen unos flecos o borlas de seda blanca y azul" (47). This is the first instance of many in which Sosa remarks on the ornate dress of the Moors of Algiers. Other than the description of the footwear, this characterization is unremarkable. But Sosa, again, projects internalized European Christian gender norms when describing the Moors' footwear. That he compares their sandals, *chinelas*, to those worn by women is evidence of how he is subconsciously and constantly comparing the Moors to the Spanish Christians, and is further proof of his not-so-subtle attempts to feminize them. Their footwear, flamboyant to Sosa, is indicative of a frivolousness that he finds throughout their culture.

Sosa moves on to a description of the Kabyles, those who reside in the mountains and are the "antiguos naturales africanos, nacidos y criados dende principio en estas partes de Africa" (47). Again, some of these Kabyles are brown but mostly they are white and well-proportioned, according to his measurements. This brings Sosa to the fascinating discussion of the Zwawa tribe, who tend to have the symbol of the cross etched into the skin of their face, a custom purportedly from the time of the Goths and Vandals who wanted to distinguish the Africans who were Christians from the idolaters. This custom survives although Sosa claims that they hardly know the source of it, and

even though they claim to be the descendants of ancient Christians. Sosa says this in a slightly sarcastic tone, as if it is impossible for these Africans to share any blood with the European Christians such as himself. Sosa's preoccupation with purity of blood shines through in this moment. That these Zwawa simply say that they wear the mark of the cross because of their Christian lineage bears no resemblance to truth for him, and is therefore impossible for him to accept. He explains,

> . . . los cuales Azuagos y sus mujeres y hijos suelen traer una Cruz hecha y tallada en la carne, en el carrillo del rostro de la mano derecha . . . y quedóles esta costumbre dende el tiempo de los Vuandolos y godos; los cuales siendo señores destas provincias de Africa, para conocer los Africanos que eran christianos, de los Idólatras, mandaron que todos los tales andasen señalados en el carrillo con una Cruz, dándoles juntamente con esto privilegio de que no pagasen tributo . . . y esta costumbre, que entonces era como señal de hidalguía y nobleza, hasta hoy día permanece en estos Azuagos, aunque ellos no saben totalmente la causa desto, pero précianse mucho de que traen esta Cruz, y dicen que la traen porque son hijos y descendientes de cristianos antiguos. (48)

Sosa goes to great measure to situate himself and the city of Algiers within a careful lineage of Greek, Roman, Visigoth and Berber history, a lineage he denies the Zwawa and the Africans, generally. His negligence to do so in this instance is indicative of reluctance to situate Africa within the same cultural heritage even though Roman Christian influence left its mark on the region. Furthermore, the persistent use of the Christian mark of the cross in Zwawa African culture undermines the *limpieza de sangre* statutes that ruled Spain.

When Sosa shifts to speaking of the Berbers, whose women also routinely tattooed themselves "como unas culebras," the tone shifts dramatically. He seems to harbor a particular disdain for the Berbers, perhaps a holdover from medieval lore, which blames them as the Africans most responsible for the fall of the Visigoths to Islam.[50]

[50]For example, the legend of Don Julián and Cava rumia.

Further, when Sosa goes on to describe the Bedouins, he seems to conflate the Berbers with the Bedouins who invaded Spain in 711:

> . . . son tan vil canalla todos ellos que antes se morirán de hambre que ganar el pan trabajando . . . Son todos estos alarbes y sus mujeres feísimos, mal agestados y de pocas carnes, mu pardos o morenos, y sobre todo, en estremo puercos y muy sucios. . . . Y estos tan lindos galanes y pulidos son los que conquistaron a Africa y aun casi toda España, y de cristianos por permisión de Dios alcanzaron tantas victorias. (50)

Since Sosa seems to have his story backwards, he is unable to find any positive trait in this tribe, recipients of the harshest criticism Sosa has to offer. In this instance Sosa does not demonstrate any reserve. Rather than feminizing the Berbers and Bedouins, he unconditionally reviles them.

One type of "Moor" that Sosa describes in his taxonomy is the most "problematic" for an early modern Spaniard—the Morisco. These are the Moors that come from Spain, and who continue to come, from the Iberian Peninsula in exile. Sosa writes before they are officially expelled from Spain in 1609, but negative sentiment against the Moriscos was already palpable. Even before 1609 there was already a steady stream of Morisco migration to North Africa, in addition to uprisings such as the *Guerra de las Alpujarras*, which lasted from 1568-71 and resulted in the death, expulsion or enslavement of thousands of Moriscos. Furthermore, even those Moriscos that had converted to Christianity were often regarded as *cristianos nuevos* or *falsos conversos*, and who found their loyalty to the religion questioned. We are reminded that many exiled Moriscos became corsairs, fighting alongside their coreligionists against the Christian nations, and according to the *Topographia*, that they are the corsairs that do the greatest damage. The Moriscos of Cherchell, a coastal town to the West of Algiers, seem to be well versed in Spain's coastlines as many of them still have family and friends in Spain.

They are masters of disguise, writes Sosa, and these slippery characters, unidentifiable by looks alone, stealthily fool the townspeople:

> Llegados que son en alguna parte, entierran el bergantín con todo el parejo debajo la arena, en una fosa y hoyo grande; y entrando en la tierra en hábito cristianesco, y hablando muy bien español, y siendo muy bien recogidos en lugares de otros moriscos, atajan fácilmente los caminos, principalmente de noche, y maniatando todos los cristianos que topan los traen a la marina y . . . se vuelven con ellos, muy a placer, a sus casas. (92)

The Moriscos, in-between subjects, resist easy categorization. Sosa intuits this as a potentially dangerous situation in which people whose identities are disguisable could maliciously infiltrate Christian society. Indeed a Morisco invasion of the Spanish coastal cities opens Cervantes' *Los baños de Argel,* resulting in the captivity of its main characters and the gut wrenching separation of families and lovers. Sosa reminds us of the great threat that the Morisco body posed to the Spanish nation, as an unintelligible enemy that was able to quietly penetrate Christian society and, in the view of the Church, cause its downfall from within.

This trope of the Morisco as the cruelest most dangerous enemy to Spanish-ness is well versed in the time period and Sosa's *Topographia* is not immune. Luce López Baral similarly concludes that in the early modern "la diferencia entre la comunidad cristiano vieja y la morisca no se basaba en el aspecto físico" (336). In terms of ethnicity, she reminds us, Moriscos were indistinguishable from cristianos viejos, and this is why, for Sosa, clothing becomes an important symbolic marker of identity. The trope of the Morisco as the most dangerous threat to Christianity is widespread in this time period and not unique to Sosa. He observes that "Son todos estos blancos y bien proporcionados, como aquellos que nacieron en España o proceden de allá" (51). Sosa's use of simile, "like someone who was born in Spain," fails to admit or recognize that these people are, indeed, Spanish, and perhaps just as "Spanish" as Sosa himself. Sosa stereotypically turns

a blind eye to these Spaniards and instead classifies them as simply people who look like they could be from there. He punctuates this with a cruel and stark warning: "y todos en general son los mayores y más crueles enemigos que los cristianos en Berbería tenemos, porque nunca jamás se hartan o se les quita la hambre grande y sed que tienen entrañable de la sangre cirstiana" (51).

Rather than cutting them down by degrading their rituals or feminizing their characters, as Sosa does with the Algerians, there is little subtlety in the case of the Morisco. Moriscos became the enemies within and without, as Bruce Taylor aptly names his study. Before ultimately being expelled in 1609, they were viewed as a group that could not be assimilated, as a social network of those that were in direct war with Christianity, who threatened Christian Spain, this being because "the fundaments of faith were reckoned to be beyond the Moriscos' ability to understand them, no dialogue could or did take place. The result was often a mutual incomprehension in which each held the other in contempt and the Moriscos found their Muslim belief strengthened" (89). Being Morisco was not a choice, as those believed to have any trace of Islamic heritage were at risk of social or physical expulsion. These Moriscos are the recipients of a blanket mistrust and hatred, a sentiment that contrasts with the admiration that Sosa does find in some Algerians, but only those whose faith to Islam is deep enough that he is able to find virtue in their clear allegiances.

Sosa differentiates these "Moors" from the last member of his Algerian taxonomy—the Turks. There are two types of Turks, he mentions, those "by nature" and those "by profession." Turks by nature, to Sosa, are those who come directly from Turkey. They are vile and dumb on the whole, but some are exceptions to this rule, he proclaims, and are of robust bodies and with worth and valor (51). Again, Sosa finds the body to be a distinguishing trademark of identity. Sosa's fascination with the flesh, with

the corporeal, is remarkable due to his formation as a man of the Church. Even more distinguishable is the Turks' presumed predilection for sodomy. The "Turks by profession," as he calls them, are renegades of Christian lineage who have turned "Turk," or converted to Islam. They number in the hundreds of thousands, Garcés reckons, and Sosa is astounded to report that "no hay nación de cristianos en el mundo de la cual no haya renegado y renegados en Argel" (52). That Sosa attributes these men's conversion to Islam from Christianity to a faintheartedness ("unos de pusilánimos rehusan el trabajo de la esclavitud") or to a life of carnal vice ("a otros aplace la vida libre y de todo vicio de carne") undermines these men's manliness from his Spanish Christian-centric point of view. Since to be a "man" in this time period meant strict, militant adherence to Christianity, and a refusal of sexual abundance, these men were of utmost concern. Further, "a otros dende muchachos los imponen sus amos en la vellageruía de la sodomía a que se aficionan luego, y juntamente el regalo que los turcos les hacen más que a las hembras sus mujeres, y desta manera, sin saber, ni hacer cuenta de lo que dejan ni de lo que toman, se hacen turco" (53).

Whereas fornication in Counter-Reformation Europe was seen as sinful and excessive, sexual freedom in Barbary was characterized as ample and, among other pleasures, seemed to often involve homosexual encounters between men young and old (Vitkus 223). Many young men, captives or renegades, accepted these sexual practices that in turn offered them advantageous compensation, such as liberation. These converts, who often allowed their slave masters to take advantage of them sexually, were seen by Sosa and much of early modern Spain as inferior because of their sexual subordination (Garcés, *Cervantes* 112). The passive role that they took in sexual practices, coupled with their wavering faith, diminished their virility. The janissaries, those who fought on behalf of the Gran Turco, were the main recipients of Sosa's ire in this sense. The institution of

the janissary was open only to the sons of Christians who were taken as a tribute from the Ottoman controlled regions of Eastern Europe. They were afforded a healthy and wealthy life. Surprisingly, Sosa makes little mention of the custom of taking in young boys and "corrupting" them with the Muslim faith, a point that other contemporaneous authors, such as Cervantes, continuously emphasize.[51] This act of subjugation of another young boy, whose religious devotion was, perhaps, not as steadfast as an elder, was understood as a decrepit homosexual act that flew in the face of heteronormative Christian masculinity. Further contradicting this masculine paradigm is the fact that Sosa remarks, disdainfully, that during peacetime they do not do any exercise or practice drills, nor do they possess any great skills other than brute force. And unlike a Christian soldier, he observes, they do not march in any particular military formation (71). They are brutes that live

> . . . una vida bestial, de puercos animales, dándose continuamente a la crápula y lujuria, y particularmente a la hedionda y nefanda sodomía, sirviéndose de mozos cristianos cautivos que compran para ese vicio, que luego visten a la turquesca, o de hijos de judíos y de moros de la tierra y de fuera de ella, tomándolos y teniéndolos a pesar de sus padres, con los cuales están días y noches emborrachándose con aguardiente y vino. (76)

Sosa reiterates the importance of dress as a marker of identity, and seems to equate the Turkish style of wear as flamboyant and feminine, a visual marker of that flies in the face of Christian solemnity. This symbolic capital was also indicative of a subversive homosexuality, as these *mozos cristiano*s, or young Christian men, were believed to be taken in as sexual escorts for the older janissaries. Acts such as these did little to dissuade stereotypes of Muslim male femininity, and of a subversive Muslim sexuality that, at

[51]See, for example, chapters 2 and 3 of this study.

least according to Christian stereotypes, approved of not only homosexuality but also pedophilia.

While the janissaries were in charge of defending Algiers, the corsairs were the recipients of most of Sosa's ire as they were those directly responsible for attacking ships and coastal towns and taking hostages. But these corsairs, feared and reviled as they were, could not have been nearly as successful without the skill of their Christian captives. The Christians, he points out, construct the ships themselves, as they are charged with building and provisioning the vessels. In chapter 21 of Sosa's tome he seems to almost take pride in the corsair's shortcomings and in the key role of the Christian shipbuilders. Shady as the practice of corsaring might be, the Christians seem to have played a fundamental role in maintaining the state of Algiers and its economies. Again, Sosa emphasizes the deficiencies of the Algerians by pointing out that they cannot even corsair on their own, that their main source of wealth is impossible without the help of Christians:

> . . . acaban todo el navío sin en él poner la mano turco ni moro, si no es algún calafate, o remolar de los moriscos de España, porque de todos estos oficios y de los demás necesarios para poner en orden un navío de corsario, como carpinteros, calafates, herreros, barrileros, remolares . . . De manera que a faltar a los turcos cristianos oficiales, no habría entre ellos quizá un solo navío. (81)

Again, Sosa differentiates between "cristianos oficiales" and "unofficial" Christians, those being the renegades that exist within the ranks of corsairs, capturing those of their own (former) religion. This leitmotif, as we have seen, carries through the pages of the *Topographia* as a sort of justification for political practices that excluded any subject that could not be easily categorized as one identity or another, while also trampling on the rights of those whose Christianity was at doubt.

The ship is ultimately constructed without the hand of a Turk or Moor, he writes, saved for the craftsmanship of the occasional exiled Morisco. But just as Sosa concludes in almost every instance, there are some desirable qualities to be found in these human traffickers. They are remarkably clean and obsess about the balance of the ship's ballast and this impulse is mostly to blame for the Algerian's naval speed, which could easily outpace and overtake a heavier, poorly organized Christian galley. When Christian ships do try to fight back, the Algerians mock them and simply flee, using their speed to their advantage, "como que les muestran el trasero" (85). In the rare case that a corsair ship does not come across another one to rob, the Algerian sailors often take refuge on a Mediterranean island where water and firewood are abundant. Again, the Christians are ridiculed, but in this case even by Sosa, for their impotence: "y con la gran negligencia y descuido de las galeras cristianas, que se les da poco por ello, ni por buscarlos, se están pierna tendida y a placer, aguardando al paso los navíos cristianos que vienen a meterse en sus manos" (85). The Spanish ships do not dare to even go in search of the corsair ships even though they have sought refuge just off of the Iberian coastline. This Spanish carelessness contrasts fiercely with the stern order that characterize the Algerian frigates, and for one important moment Sosa turns the tables on his own people, condemning their cowardice and maritime inferiority. Not only are the Christian captives dehumanized aboard the slave galleys, but also they are equally chided by one of their own.

Sosa describes the horrors of the galleys and the abuse that the rowers endured, detailing beatings and the withholding of food, water and rest: "les abren cruelmente las espaldas, sacan la sangre, arrancan los ojos, rompen lso brazos, muelen los huesos, tajan las orejas, cortan las narices y aun los degüellan fieramente, y les cortan las cabezas, y los echan a la mar, porque arranquen la boga y caminen más que volando" (86). Without the "dead" weight of a "lazy" Christian rower the ships can sail even faster, Sosa laments.

But absent from this tirade is Sosa's admission of the Spanish and Portuguese culpability in the contemporaneous slave trade across the Atlantic, and the equally brutal conditions of Africans aboard the Spanish ships bound for a lifetime of terror in the Americas. While the Algerians are busy dehumanizing the Christian captives, the Spanish and Portuguese are equally preoccupied with their exploitation of human laborers for their own economic gain. What's more, Christian corsairs were also running galleys throughout the Mediterranean Sea and participating in this same economy of human trafficking.

After ransacking a Christian ship and taking their captives and booty, they return to port in Algiers triumphant. The captains, whose pockets are now swollen with riches, spend their money on their soldiers, in order to keep them happy, but also on their *garzones* or *mozos*, Sosa writes: "Acostumbran . . . vestir muy ricamente a sus garzones (que son sus mujeres barbadas) de vestidos de damasco, raso y terciopelo . . . y de muy pulidos borceguíes, zapatos y tocas muy finas, y arrearlos más que a las damas muy pulidas y hermosas" (88). A point of honor between the corsairs becomes who has the most women, he discovers, and to this end he sends them to stroll about the city streets. This competition, of glorified cross-dressing, in Sosa's eyes, is shameful. Sosa's great horror in this instance, however, is simply ignorance to anything but Christian heteronormativity. Some of Sosa's most profound moments of disbelief stem from instances of perceived homosexual or non-heteronormative behavior, and especially when it occurs among men.

Sosa finally moves on to a description of the other men and women of Algiers after dedicating nearly half of his study to the economy of corsairing, continuing with a description of the town's great markets. An important port city, Algiers is portrayed as a melting pot of cultures and commodities. Goods and merchants from the Americas, India, Constantinople, the coastal European countries and all of Africa intermingle and

exchange hands, and Sosa's detailed description of the goods that come from each corner of the world point to Algiers' importance as a central node in these early modern Mediterranean seafaring networks. But it wasn't just goods that were traded. People were, of course, sold at auction as slaves, as Cervantes depicts in his Algerian captivity plays. As some captives were sent to the town's wealthy homeowners, many others were dispersed across Africa. To Fes, Sosa writes, were sent a great number of "mochachos cristianos que envían presentados" (96). Undertones of homophobia continue in this section; Sosa again plays up to his audience's fears and reminds them of the threat of sodomy and the corruption and commodification of young male bodies, threats personified by Islam generally. The exchange of young boys harkens back to the central concern of this tome, the barbaric slave trade by Muslim corsairs. But once again, despite the fact that these very pirates were capable of inflicting such great harm on society, Sosa also makes sure to feminize various aspects of their culture. In this chapter the recipient of his ire are the merchants, as he remarks that they sit all day in their shops "asentados en cuclillas como mujeres" and that their poor bookkeeping makes them untrustworthy (97). These merchants, sellers of young boys and weak like women, are also usurers and untrustworthy. Unlike Spain, Algerian society does not revolve around the honor/honra code and thus, Sosa concludes, they feel at liberty to swindle and lie. To justify this, Sosa conveys, these lenders simply laugh off their deception and remark that if they were to keep their word, then what would differentiate them from Christians (96)? Sosa generalizes in this sense, and perhaps also cannot take a joke. Nonetheless, Sosa's obsession with the Spanish honor system leaves him blind to other ways of being in the world, to other ways of interacting in society.

This same criticism extends also to the Algerian laborers, "de manera que entre ellos no hay alguna manera de honra" (98). Further, the trope of the militaristic masculine

Christian once again fails to serve Sosa in Algiers. Many laborers and artisans, he writes, not only have no points of honor but also work as janissaries or soldiers on the side, serving when they are called to duty. They feel no sense of honor to serve in the military, and do not equate it with nobility, unlike Christians who rightly do. Sosa again carries over the late medieval masculine stereotypes with his disdain for manual labor, considered as a degrading task to nobles and to soldiers, who should be full-time professionals, not serve intermittently. Sosa seems to be in disbelief that these men would not find greater duty and pride in their military service. "The rupture of these rigid social hierarchies on the part of Ottoman and Algerian society scandalized Europeans. Sosa likens military careers among Christians, especially those of the working class, with military and honor" (Garcés 330, note 1). This lack of pride for military service, equated with violence, combat and religious fervor, further emasculates these Algerians and unfairly demeans their life choices. It is also a sign of Sosa's cultural and intellectual elitism that he harbors such disdain for the rural life of a laborer, as well as for the merchants to choose to sit rather than stand.

Again, though, the conversation of masculinity and superiority moves into a conversation of clothing. Sosa dedicates an entire chapter to Algerian fashion and describes the rich fabrics with which Algerian men adorn themselves. The richer men wear caftans of expensive fabric like damask, velvet and silk, and unlike Spanish nobility, they leave their necks bare and do not adorn themselves with ornate collars and ruffles that we begin to associate with early modern Europe. In a rare moment of comparison, Sosa compares the trend of wearing intricately carved knives along their waist to the Galician men who also do so. But this moment of appreciation of their weaponry is fleeting, as Sosa quickly moves into a discussion of their shoes, described unsurprisingly as superfluous and obscenely ornate. They wear noisy shoes that are

constructed with nails that suspend the shoe slightly off of the ground, such that the sole does not sweep the streets. This is akin to how one might shoe a horse with iron, he observes, but unlike a more wise or cultured man, these Algerians are not accustomed to do so. This comparison to the shoeing of horse hoofs equates the Algerian men with livestock and also insults their ability to "properly" keep bests of burden. Nonetheless, they do seem to take good care of themselves by washing themselves frequently, as Islamic law states.

Another feature of Muslim men that Sosa admires is their devotion, which is unshakable and something that Christians could imitate, he remarks. Devotion, no matter to what religion, is admired. This is an outstanding revelation within the context of Christian-Muslim relations, and one that is all the more eye-opening coming from a religious captive. However, this is not the same as the religious relativism expressed by Cervantes in previous chapters. Sosa is careful to contain his praise; Islam is still unacceptable. Instead he admires this devotion as an appeal for Christians to emulate this behavior, suggesting that if Spanish Christians were as devout perhaps they could defeat their Muslim enemies more easily. But if Sosa praises Muslims (and Christians) for being devout that indeed the fundamental difference between these humans is religion, and religious-based racism, and nothing more. And so that being said, he is careful to differentiate between their devotion and the religion itself, as Islam continues to be an aberration. Furthermore, although he is able to praise this religious devotion in Africa, his descriptions also served as a dire warning to Christian Spain. This book's function was an instruction manual of sorts, and by revealing how organized and dedicated these North Africans are in their religious conquests, Sosa stokes the fear of early modern Catholics. It also helps to explain their military and seafaring successes, as this devotion, coupled with the technologies described above, were a recipe for corsairing success. In order to

overcome this threat, Sosa implies that Christians must organize similarly and fight this enemy with ever fiber of their being.

Just as Christian men are the highest-ranking individuals in the Church, so too with Islam do males control the religion. Christian militant masculinity begins to align with Islamic masculinity in this sense, in that both paradigms find their deepest sense of meaning in a holy book. The marabouts of Algiers, Islamic religious leaders and teachers of the Maghreb, receive an entire chapter of Sosa's account. These Qur'anic scholars study what he calls a book of tall tales that he found repugnant. Sosa's antipathy towards Islam is unsurprising and this sentiment extends thusly to its devotees. The threat of such staunchly devoted individuals leads Sosa to feminize them, to undercut their successes by undermining the foundation of their religion. He unfavorably describes rituals such as self-immolation and self-harm, which he attributes to their addiction to young boys.[52] But sodomy and masochism are not unique to Islam, nor are they symbolic of an entire religion. Of course, Catholics practiced self-flagellation in the baños, and homosexual desire was anything but absent from the ranks of Catholic priests. Sosa, whether we believe him or not, documents public acts of sodomy that are praised by the entire community: "La sodomía se tiene, como diximos, por honra, porque aquel es más honrado que sustenta más garçones y los celan más que las propias mujeres y hijas . . . Un hombre que tiene un hijo halo de guardar si lo quiere sin este vicio" (176). It is this bestial act that most profoundly explains Sosa's consternation towards the entire religion. Allowing the Muslims the upper hand in this battle is akin to exposing Christian youth to these sins. Furthermore, as children were seen as particularly vulnerable to apostasy, Sosa

[52]"Otros hay destos que por devoción (según ellos dicen) se queman las cabezas con hierros calientes y botones de fuego, y otros que con navajas se cortan los pechos y brazos, dándose grandes heridas, o poniendo algodones embebidos y empapados en aceite sobre los brazos, a que ponen fuego, y se dejan ansí quemar las carnes hasta que el aceite y algodón se consumen; pero la verdad es que lo hacen ellos por amor de los mozos y garzones (a que son muy aficionados) cuando el demonio los enciende" (108-09).

emphasizes that parents ought to protect them against this avarice so as to prevent a sodomite generation of Christians. Young boys swayed to convert are portrayed in a dramatic manner in Cervantes' Algerian captivity plays, as described in chapter 3. What is most troublesome for him and for other early modern writers is precisely this upheaval of traditional gender and sexual roles in which men take on the passive position in addition to the dominant one of penetrator. The subversive sexual role of the female is an implicit feminization of Islam and Algiers, a criticism that he seems to find in almost every facet of life. Not only does Sosa lie out plans for the penetration of the city walls, but he also suggests that the people themselves, their culture even, can be willingly and easily penetrated.

But both sexual excess and sexual repression are characteristic of Western accounts of Islamic sexuality (Vitkus 223). Thus Sosa's description of male lustfulness necessarily segues into an exploration of femininity in Islamic Algiers, a construct that holds great value in chastity and repression. It follows then that Sosa's first description of Islamic courtship emphasizes marriage ceremonies, and the fact that many Islamic men take multiple wives. His explanation for this is, again, because of Muslim men's unbridles sexuality, "esta multitud de mujeres son como muros a do se encierran todos los deseos carnales para no pasar adelante a pecar con otras mujeres" (119). The sexual licentiousness that he describes, whether we believe it or not, is characteristic of an overarching stereotype that pervaded all of Europe. Therefore, despite the admirable devotion and organization examined previously, these people are a corrupting force whose aberrant behavior threatens all of Christendom. This is Sosa's main intention: To reveal the great threat that Islam represents and the damage that it could do to every facet of Christian society—from ideologies of heteronormativity to cultural practices such as dress and food. These two attitudes that Sosa displays throughout, admiration and hatred,

in fact do not undermine one another but instead serve to sides of the same message—Christianity must prevail over the threat of Islam.

In order to prevent stepping out on their wives, Muslim men simply take on new wives. Sosa credits the polygamy system to the reason that the wives seem to behave so properly in the home, under fear that their husband might step out on her or take another wife. These spouses could be Turkish women, locals, Jewish daughters who convert to Islam to avoid suffering the mistreatment directed at Jews, or renegade Christians who have converted to Islam. Sosa remarks that these are the most prized, as they are the most diligent in the way that they care for their husbands and homes, and they are also more beautiful. Sosa's esteem for Christian women is thinly veiled in passage, and this moment of truth reminds us of the Euro- and Christian-centric position from which he writes. Sosa mentions that the men tend to be very jealous, despite their own tendencies toward sexual freedom, and thus they tend to guard their women with black eunuchs. The motif of the eunuch guarding the chastity of the female is evident elsewhere in the early modern, as Cervantes also picks up on this trope in his *novela ejemplar* "El celoso extremeño," as well as in *La gran sultana*, as described in chapter 4.

Another distinction that Sosa emphasizes is that nobility and lineage is not a factor in the choosing of a female mate. Rather, the Muslim men will marry almost anyone even if they're not from the same "sangre," a tradition that flies in the face of the honor and nobility system on which Spanish society teeters most delicately. Muslims often marry their brides sight-unseen, he gawks. And most shockingly, it is not the women who bring their dowry to the wedding but rather the man, who has to, in effect, buy his wife (120). These moments of shocking intimacy are characteristic of Sosa's knowledge of the inner-workings of Algerian marriages, from politics to ceremonies

surrounding the bride's virginity.[53] Since women are often married off without any concern for nobility, lineage or love, a practice that Sosa finds confusing, he also dedicates two chapters to women. Most of this time is spent remarking on the lack of control that Muslim husbands have over their wives, or subjecting the women to a similar amount of scrutiny when it comes to their daily routines. For example, Sosa remarks that most women are lazy and gluttonous, and unable to perform the most basic domestic duties unless they are of Spanish blood. Much of their time is spent partying with friends or going to public bathhouses (how Sosa knows the rituals associated with female-only bathhouses is unclear). The free reign given to the wives seems to contradict the prior chapter, which explains that the men tend to be jealous and the women subservient out of fear that the husband might find another lover. These women also represent another subversive threat lurking amongst society. Nonetheless, in this section Sosa portrays the husbands as impotent and unable to control their wives, who constantly misbehave and parade through the streets in their finest clothing. But if the men were to take these liberties away from the women they would leave him, remarks Sosa. These Muslim husbands are, once again, placed in a fan relationship and portrayed as wimpy and weak willed. This inability to behave as a proper "man" trickles its way down into all corners of Algerian society—into the military, the women, and even into Islam itself. What the Muslim men are incapable of doing in the home they fail at in public. Sosa seems to imply that if these men cannot even run a home properly then there is no way that they can run a city or a military. Moorish women are described as lazy because they have few furnishings in their home. Of course, Sosa is blinded to the fact that opulence does not

[53]"Consumado el matrimonio, luego allí es costumbre que el novio toma los calzones de la esposa (porque todas los traen de lienzo) y abriendo la puerta de la cámara en que le encerraron con ella, los arroja a las mujeres que están de fuera del aposento aguardando para esto, o los entrega en las manos de su suegra . . . y la madre o parienta de la novia, por testimonio de la bondad y honestidad con que hasta allí viviera la novia, los va mostrando a todas" (122).

equal happiness. The food is poor, he writes, but perhaps this is due to his particular palate. They lack elegance because they do not use silver or gold vessels to eat from, but perhaps this is simply because it is not the style. What makes Sosa's writing so compelling but also so confusing are precisely these nuances and contradictions, and the ersatz way with which he decides what to condemn and what to praise. But as I have shown, these contradictions are really just two different approaches to revealing the "truth" about Islam and the danger it represented.

Sosa's vacillation is best described in chapters 35 and 36, titled "Vicios" and "Virtudes." Perhaps unsurprisingly, Sosa's chapter on Algerian virtues is significantly shorter than his section dedicated to their vices. But nonetheless he concedes to their existence. This chapter is essentially a laundry list of customs that Sosa finds offensive. He reprimands them for being vain, boastful, evil fornicators with little piety. Sosa mobilizes this stereotype of the deceptive and tricky Muslim or renegade, as he claims that they ignore their peace treaty with the French by sometimes robbing their ships. Sosa believes that the French deserve this, however, for supplying the Algerians with munitions and provisions that sustain their corsairing. And again, the reader is reminded of the Algerian's penchant for sex and sodomy, a practice with which Sosa seems to become obsessed. It's no matter that the women go about the city covered up since the men are too enchanted with their *garzones*. He laments, "La sodomía se tiene, como diximos, por honra, porque aquel es más honrado que sustenta más garçones y los celan más que las propias mujeres y hijas" (176). On Fridays and holidays the *garzones* march proudly throughout the city, observes Sosa, and the other men vie for their attention with flowers and passionate soliloquies. The role of the *garzón* is to take care of their master and even "acompañar en la cama," fulfilling all of the traditional gendered duties of a female. Many men boast of having never had relations with a woman, that they cannot

stand the sight of them (177). The Algerian's supposed obsession with homosexual and pedophilic encounters enters into the local economy, as barbers staff their shops with these young boys to tend to the customers. Sosa views these homosocial spaces as public brothels.

The specificity with which Sosa speaks leads the reader to ascribe him great authority as an ethnographer. But critical analysis of this work reveals how troublesome blanket statements such as this description of barbershops in Algiers really are. Sosa attempts to mitigate this tendency with moments of religious clarity, such as when he insists in the humanity of the Algerians. Since God created nothing to which he did not grant some good virtue, these humans must possess some, he states. Thus, in his brief chapter on Algerian virtues he attempts to uncover some of these more positive qualities. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these characteristics all revolve around religion. What he finds most enviable about this community is their devotion to God, a trait that Christians could stand to acquire. He is amazed that "ni aun vocablos tienen en su lengua morisca o turquesca con que puedan decir mal de Dios," and that the renegade Italians and Spanish must learn to suppress their habits of blaspheming and using the Lord's name in vain (182). A firm devotion to Islam is also evident in their cleanliness, as mandated by religious order, as well as their strict observance of holy law, another instance in which their Christian counterparts are lacking. And finally, when two Muslims quarrel they normally do not engage in violent encounters. Sosa attributes this to the fact that they do not function on the honor system, and so therefore there are no points of honor among them to gain or lose (183). Algerian Muslims masculinity, unlike Christian masculinity, is not built upon, and does not dubiously rely upon, the honor/honra system, which seems to open up a space for peaceful resolution and levelheadedness. Whereas Sosa scolds the Muslims for their lack of honor in other moments, in this sense he does insert a sly

criticism of Spanish lineage, nobility and caste. And thusly Sosa concludes his very short chapter dedicated to reinstating the humanity of the Muslims who, throughout this work, he presents as both literary fodder and also scientific subjects.

As a captive, and therefore a subordinate of another man, Sosa's masculinity is constantly at risk. His supposed Christian superiority is challenged, the location of his hegemonic consciousness. Sosa metamorphoses from cleric to captive, and with his writing attempts to regain his "superior" position, a violent act of cultural appropriation to show that he is in service of his crown and, by writing his superiority, is worthy of reinstatement in early modern Spanish culture. After all, those captives who succumbed to the pressure to convert to Islam could never return to Spain because of the long arm of Inquisitorial law. Sosa writes through his captivity in an attempt to not only document Algerian ways of life but also to convey the harsh life of a Christian captive in sixteenth-century Algeria. He satisfies a salacious curiosity held by the Spanish public by describing in detail the minutia of daily life. This curiosity is perhaps what led him to focus on topics as unexpected as women's rituals and dress, childbirth, marriage and death rituals, and the clothing of different military ranks. His attention to detail is astounding and certainly raises eyebrows; how he could have obtained access to such intimate details of, for example, post-matrimonial coitus rituals, shocks the reader into blindly accepting his claims. And as other early modernists have noted, many captives in this time period were allowed a surprisingly large amount of freedom to wander the city, to earn a wage, and to deal within various social circles.

> Sosa dialogues with Muslim, Jewish, or renegade interlocutors . . . Evoking a sophisticated social arena that allowed encounters, conversations, and even religious discussions among Muslims, Jews, Christians and renegades, such phrases also speak to the fluidity of relations across the Christian-Muslim divide in Barbary. (Garcés, *An Early Modern* 8)

Like we see in Cervantes, the body becomes the site of identity, a place where all of the dramas of race, religion and ethnicity play out. Although Sosa attempts to maintain an authorial, ethnographic distance from the subjects of his "study," he subtly fashions himself as different, separate, other from the Algerians. But remarkable is his ability to, at times, separate himself from this overwhelmingly negative paradigm and to treat the Algerians and Turks with sensitivity. His moments of subjectivity reveal as much about Spanish ways of life as they do about Algiers. Sosa's Iberian male body, shackled and enslaved, is contrasted against the men who hold him captive. By incessantly trying to describe what Muslims are he also reveals what he believes he is not: lustful, vain, boastful sodomites. Because of the economy of corsairing, Algiers became an important hub of exchange and a central nexus in the networks of the early modern. As the Christian Sosa finds himself in a subordinate position to Islam, these traditional paradigms are no longer useful and become incongruous. Instead, these paradigms are inverted. While it is true that Sosa shows how early modern Christianity is "superior" in its might, and how Islam is essentially inferior due to its femininity, Sosa also presents the reader with an alternate paradigm of masculinity that represents an inherent challenge to early modern Spanish ways of life, a masculinity that has proven itself a worthy contender in this religious conflict.

A reader of Sosa's chronicle of slavery and cultural contact bears witness to the increasing globalization and "rewiring" of the Mediterranean in the early modern, a continuous flux and rewriting of the boundaries of identity, race, religion and politics. Algiers, like Spain in the early modern, becomes a contact zone, an interzone of in-between-ness that was closed off and at the same time open to Christian-Muslim contact based upon human trafficking. Yet Sosa is, of course, ideologically motivated. But like Cervantes' captivity plays, Sosa writes to bring the periphery to center, in this case Spain

and its publishing hubs function represent the center and the stories of the captives fall distinctly outside of this frame of referent. Due to what was felt by many captives (Cervantes included) to be a dangerous ignorance and disengagement with the Ottoman forces, Sosa's writing became part of a growing cannon of authors eager to retell the circumstances of their captivity, such as the aforementioned Diego Galán. Sosa therefore positions himself as an important node in the information networks of the early modern western Mediterranean. Spanish hegemonic paradigms become subordinate when Sosa experiences his captivity, and therefore he feminizes the Muslim enemy and attempts to write and contain all that is Algeria within the confines of a book. The act of writing knowledge, of deciding what and whom to include in a book described as authoritative and definitive, is an act of empirical and cultural domination. Since the trope of the conquering Christian warrior becomes inaccessible to him in captivity, Sosa turns it on its head to instead portray Muslims as effeminate and using the pen he writes to remind himself of a notion that was beginning to fade as he languished in prison—that the Spanish were superior in might and in creed.

Conclusion: Act Global; Think Local

The Spanish saying "*el mundo es un pañuelo*," translated roughly as "it's a small world," is an observation that is not unique to today's modern era of instantaneous Internet access and global simultaneity. By reconsidering chronology and recasting the past as fully inhabiting our present, I have shown how post-Enlightenment theories of the body can be useful for the study of prior eras. Through my reorientation of Spanish conceptions of the Eastern or Islamic other, I have brought to the forefront the fact that the distinction between Europe and Asia, or Europe and North Africa, is indeed a fabrication. What's more, the physical barrier between Spain and North Africa, or Spain and Turkey, is miniscule in comparison to the mental barrier, a chasm that has resulted in far-reaching political and academic consequences. Nevertheless, it is our duty to begin to see beyond these arbitrary borders of geography, ideology, and academy, to converse across boundaries of identity. The widening of the notion of "home," of local geography in the early modern allows us to look beyond just Spain, indeed beyond just Europe, towards a multicultural and polyvalent Mediterranean experience.

By Cervantes and Sosa's time, more specific mapping techniques re- or dis-oriented previously rigid geographic boundaries. Mappa mundis were already portraying the coastlines of the Americas, and the coasts of Africa were well known to the Spanish. The Mercator projection, which projects maps on a cylinder, was introduced in 1569 and soon became the nautical standard. And as these discoveries increased, more and more so did heading East lead back to the West, as no matter how far one traveled in one direction, one always circled back upon himself. And thus crucial to my study is the fact that the literature of Spain during this time was already fully inhabited by "the Orient" due to its nearly 800 years of occupation and rule by Islam. Susan Martín Márquez posits

that "Spain is a nation that is at once Orientalized and Orientalizing . . . For Spaniards, this positioning on both "sides" of Orientalism—as simultaneously "self" and "other"—may bring about a profound sense of disorientation" (8). Thus, I situate my study in the time between the religious intolerance of the Middle Ages and the nascent racism of the age of discovery and the Renaissance. After the fall of Constantinople to the Muslims in 1453, Christian and Muslim relations suffered a severe breakdown resulting in a clash of empires, as Andrew Hess has argued. These confrontations are represented most dramatically at the battle of Lepanto in 1571, in which Cervantes would lose the use of one of his arms. And certainly still very present in the cultural ether during the lives of Sosa and Cervantes were the end of the Christian "Reconquest" and watershed momeents like the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, and the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. Furthermore, Spain was similarly confronted with uprisings within its own ranks, as Christian countries such as England abandoned Catholicism in favor of Protestantism. The Other was now also the same: Christians who left Catholicism became religious enemies at the same time that Islam was viewed as a corruption of the highest degree. Yet whereas sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain can by typified as xenophobic and hostile towards religious alterity, Muslim North Africa and Constantinople were, contrarily, spaces of relative tolerance. Christians were allowed to maintain their faith even when held captive, as I demonstrated in the case of Cervantes' play *La gran sultana* when the Christian Catalina gains the throne. Sosa demonstrates the liberty that some of these captives and immigrants experienced in Algiers when he speaks of the consequences of converting to Islam and partaking in rituals such as polygamy, both rituals he condemns. But representing the polar opposite of this perceived tolerance, however, is the horrific depiction of North Africa that Cervantes portrays in *Los baños de*

Argel and *El trato de Argel*, in which instead we bear witness to a strikingly cruel world of opposition, persecution and torture.

Scholars such as Fernand Braudel have dedicated their academic lives to exploring the vast interconnectedness of the Mediterranean experience, using ecology and geography as primary evidence of the area's unity. However, generally speaking, Braudel's theory neglects to engage with the effects of religious contact, syncretism and hybridity (Dursteler, "Fernand Braudel" 68). Adnan Husain describes an alternative view of this geography that attempts to fill in this lacuna:

> By recognizing the region as both a space of encounter and a cultural unity forged in different ways at different times with eventful consequences, an alternative sort of history of the Mediterranean is possible, the urgency of which is clear. If we are to re-imagine the Mediterranean, we must engage the features that perhaps most uniquely define it–its religious cultures and their shared histories . . . (23)

Braudel's exhaustive, double volume *The Mediterranean* insists upon seeing the Mediterranean as a whole, arguing that the Spanish West and Ottoman East had similar socioeconomic structures, a unity that transcended political difference. It is not this charge with which I take issue, but rather by excluding the human aspect, as Braudel does, and instead focusing on the determinism of the region's geography, it undermines the experiences of captives such as Sosa and Cervantes. Furthermore, interpolated within this Mediterranean unity is the intense reality of quotidian conflict and violence along its coasts. Thus, while on the one hand we cannot ignore that daily life in Cervantes' time was strife with hostile religious-fueled contact, Braudel's study importantly reminds us that a symmetry did exist between east and west, in this case, the North and South of the Mediterranean.

In this study, I have shown that there is a more nuanced middle ground between Braudel's unity and divisive religious factions, and to do so I looked to the literature of

two captives to consider the way that they stage this manifold Mediterranean experience. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell in *The Corrupting Sea* (2000) similarly examine the Mediterranean as an interconnected space of microregions and microecologies, arguing that the connectivity of the Mediterranean's regions is due to a high degree of seafaring interaction. Pirate vessels were technologies of identity, and "evidence for piracy . . . is also evidence for persistent exchange . . . They may make particular areas of the sea or coast too risky and force changes in the pattern of redistribution, pushing networks inland or changing the rhythm of commercial voyages" (157). Just as Horden and Purcell demonstrate how piracy did not lead to the devastation of the Mediterranean's unity, unlike prior theorizations of the area's commercial and seafaring characteristics, my use of social network theory amplifies this thesis to prove that pirates and corsairs were an integral role in these exchanges due to their ability to spontaneously reroute travel trajectories.

One of the most important new developments of postcolonial medieval and early modern studies has been precisely the rethinking of how perceptions of time and place are interconnected, and the subsequent insights afforded by thinking more broadly about place and more deeply about time. Heng looks forward to a time when the academy can embrace "the coevalness of present and past, in the sedimented pluralities of the present" ("Holy War Redux" 424). I have shown how hybridized identities allowed for the creation of and affiliation with new early modern social circles, and I have similarly also advocated for a larger temporal hybridity. However, I suggest that we do not simply use our medieval or contemporary knowledge to conjecture or comment about other time periods, rather we must remember how striking similarities between the past and present call into question our notions of periodization altogether. For example, similar notions of religious-based racism and conceptions of gender were at work in the sixteenth century,

just they are in today's "modern" world of religious terrorism. Medieval and early modern scholars such as Heng and John Beusterien (*An Eye on Race*, 2006) have recently begun to show that indeed concepts like race occupy a significant and undeniable place within the medieval and early modern periods, a fact that many contemporary critical race theories deny. Heng finds that:

> . . . religion – the paramount source of authority in the Middle Ages – can function both socioculturally and biopolitically: subjecting peoples of a detested faith, for instance, to a political hermeneutics of theology that can biologize, define, and essentialize an entire community as fundamentally, and absolutely different. ("The Invention . . . I" 268)

"Raza" in early modern Spain became a conflation of one particularly detested faith, Islam, with ethnic taxonomies that transformed race into something based upon religion. Furthermore, this religion-based race was and is often gendered, as Islamic males were understood to be hypersexual and often effeminate, whereas the orientalized female body was frequently fetishized and became an exotic object of desire.

Castaways themselves, their body among the religious and racial enemy, Cervantes and Sosa displace notions of home by creating ties across the Strait of Gibraltar, points of contact that link the lives of Spaniards, their audience, with those of captives. These negotiations of identity occur in what Mary Louise Pratt has called "contact zones," "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (4). But as E. Natalie Rothman challenges,

> . . . cultures do not simply 'meet, clash, and grapple' on their own. Moreover, that two cultures are 'disparate' is not a pre-given fact but part of an ongoing process of boundary maintenance that unfolds in specific sites and institutions, through the efforts of precisely those why purport to mediate and bridge them. (4)

Rothman's definition of a *trans-imperial* subject, a subject that functions as an intermediary "who articulated difference along such unfolding boundaries" is apt for the case of both Sosa and Cervantes. Spanish Christian captives brokered difference between their own communities and groups, and those of other circles, and it is this encounter with alterity that, in the early modern, "generated cognitive dissonance on a global scale, as well as an accelerating transformation, hybridization" (Wojciehowski 23). Belonging to a group while meanwhile breaching it allows for the construction of new nodes and linkages amongst the networks of the Mediterranean. The captives, a social group or circle, come into contact with the corsairs in the open ocean, are sold on the slave markets in Algiers, and create new webs of contact and connection through transacting with new and different groups of captives, converts, and captors.[54]

Furthermore, writers like Cervantes demonstrated how peaceful contact could arise from violent circumstances. Cervantes was no stranger to non-Iberian cultures. As has been well documented, in addition to his captivity he spent time in Italy during military service, fought in Lepanto, and came from a long lineage of frontiersmen, with family in modern-day Galicia and Andalusia:

> The family that exemplified the culture of the frontier during various centuries in medieval Spain . . . was the Saavedra family. Originating in Galicia, the Saavedra settled in Seville around 1351 and by the fifteenth century had turned into one of the most influential lineages of the city, known for their defense of and their forays across the frontier with the kingdom of Granada. Marked by their intense attraction for this boundary, the Saavedra made their fortune literally living on the edge, to the point that the frontier became the thread of their life. To be a Saavedra, as Cervantes certainly intuited, was to be, from birth, part of a destiny that was at once tragic and glorious, a destiny on the borderland often sealed by death. (Garcés, *Cervantes* 189)

[54]In fact, both Sosa and Cervantes mention janissaries, former Christians that belonged to an elite military branch of the Ottoman empire, are a full hybrid embodiment of this ability to cross between social circles. (This might make for a better paragraph than footnote)

The sea itself becomes an intermediary space, a liminal interzone of pirates, corsairs, merchants and military. Bridging geography literally, these works and their characters convey a network of people and movement that made up the early modern Mediterranean. What's more, much of the success that the Algerian corsairs had in privateering was due to the exchange of materials, knowledge and skilled workers from Iberia and the Levant. Spanish Morisco refugees often brought skills that were useful in the construction of ships, as the men captured on Christian soil were often of seafaring families. And while access to pen and paper in the *baños* allowed for the circulation of information, it was the movement of people that formed this basis of this social network. Advances in maritime technology contributed to an increase in contact, but there were also demographic factors that correlated to heightened circulation, as Ohanna explains:

> . . . vinculados ya sea directa o colateralmente con políticas de reprensión de las desigualdades espirituales que desde la península provocaron sucesivos movimientos migratorios, más o menos constantes, hasta la expulsión definitiva de los moriscos que comenzó en 1609. (*Cautiverio y convivencia* 80)

In this dissertation I have aimed to couch terms such as "race" and "Orientalism" within appropriate chronological, cultural and historical contexts, and in doing so I have demonstrated how these two authors, Cervantes and Sosa, spun a web of interconnection in the early modern Mediterranean. By combining sociological network theory with contemporary cultural, racial and postcolonial studies, I show how these frameworks have bearing on conceptualizations of selfhood and subjectivity, bringing us closer to the true dynamics of early modern Spanish identity. These studies have let me to conclude that ultimately these authors continuously emphasize corporeality, a cosmopolitan early modern world, and a common sense of humanity, while also dismantling binary systems of Christian and Muslim, self and other, dyads upon which modern postcolonial studies rely so heavily. These authors, and their fictional characters, are intermediaries across

categories of identity, in spite of difference. Through a contemplation of how we can rethink and re-incorporate contemporary theories of identity within the context of early modernity, I posit that we can redefine gender and humanity in the time period through careful incorporation of these methodologies.

The complex relationship of corsair activity instigated these two authors to write alterity in the Spanish early modern. As travelers, they re-imagined the relationship between "West" and "East," creating and staging cultural contact on a global, Mediterranean stage. My dissertation has traced continuities and ruptures in cultural encounters between these two separate but similar geographical areas to show how contemporary cultural theory cannot simply be read backwards, but rather reconfigured to uncover the true dramas of identity that played out on the stages and in the pages of the early modern. By decentering Europe and the Iberian Peninsula in particular, the sixteenth century is revealed to have multiple centers and axes that displace the subordinating rhetoric of contemporary Orientalism. In that "Europe" is a concept that did not exist in the time that Sosa and Cervantes wrote, we cannot travel backwards in time linearly without stumbling. By atemporalizing postcolonial theory, and under the umbrella of social networks, I bring to the forefront the manner in which the past reveals itself in the present, such as in the consequences of the Arab Spring and jihadism.

Defining Islam through the experience of captivity was also an indirect attempt at fashioning the self against these neighbors. I have argued for a new conception of the body and corporeality in the early modern by showing how religious identity was conceived of as similar to gender–as the real. In *Mimesis and Empire*, Barbara Fuchs reminds that religious identity can be lost and found, strategically hidden, or vociferously adopted (163). Each of these texts evidences how Spanish society thinks of the dangers of their enemies within its coastlines and beyond, with a particular focus by these authors on

subjects whose identities are slippery, liminal or mutable. The expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, for example, lends itself as a moment in Spanish history whose importance cannot be overstated. Moriscos, understood as dangerous because of their ability to *pass* for Spanish, were present in North Africa and Ottoman Turkey, and their mere existence begged Spanish religious and government authorities to consider with great anxiety where the borders of Spanish-ness began and ended. But as Susan Martín Márquez finds, "the persecution and expulsion of religious-cum-racial others could not fully unify the diverse peoples of the Iberian Peninsula, who, isolated from one another by rugged geography, spoke separate languages, [and] enjoyed different local economies" (17). These cultural representations of Africa and Turkey are really, thus, performances of national identity.

I have embarked upon this project in the midst of a renaissance of Cervantes studies, sparked by the 400th anniversary of the publication of the second book of *Don Quijote*, an event celebrated in 2015 at my home institution and around the world. This resurgence has seen an uptick in studies that consider Cervantes within the realm of Mediterranean Studies, and especially using cognitive studies to consider notions of empathy and reader response, for example. The circuits of exchange analyzed in this dissertation have brought to light cultural transmission between Islam and Spanish Christianity, and also crossed the mental barriers between East and West. This transnational ethos holds promise for further studies in early modern Spanish literature, in particular in a Transatlantic context. For example, questions of self and other are present in instances of Latin American captivity, such as Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios* as well as in seafaring tales like *Los Infortunios de Alonzo Rodríguez* by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora. Travel narratives such as these would benefit from a consideration that takes into account how early modern Spanish and colonial Latin

American authors Orientalize the New World in a similar fashion. Considering globalization and travel in the early modern Mediterranean would also open the door for research into North Africans who traveled to Spain. Just as Sosa spends a great deal of his study pointing to the Roman or Christian cultural patrimonies of North Africa, "Moroccan travelers in Spain constantly encountered Islamic relics and residues in the palaces they visited, including the descendants of the Moriscos who still felt an attraction for Islam" (Garcés, *An early modern* 38). Further exploration is also needed in the way that hospitality was extended to visitors in Spain, or, for example, to Spanish travelers in Islamic lands. In the case of the anonymous *Viaje de Turquía* (1557), a humanistic dialogue/travelogue, or in the instances of Moroccan dignitaries who traveled throughout the Mediterranean, such as Leo Africanus, notions of hospitality buoyed political and social institutions and helped to contribute to senses of self and nationhood. Viewing the foreigner, as Derrida does, as the origin of all questions, unsettles certainties about humanity and the self, two philosophical quandaries that I have grappled with throughout this dissertation and that merit a more profound study in the early modern.

These works are conduits in a network, linking two nodes, Spain and Algiers, in a symmetric relationship that creates a mutual flow of information between locations, between nodes. I have explored the complex interchange between various groups and individuals that crossed, questioned and formed the boundaries between race, politics and religion, and the role these markers of identity have in the modes of interaction, indeed, networks, between Spanish captives and their Muslim counterparts. The combination of theoretical approaches that I have utilized in this dissertation—affect, gender, performance, and social networks—has revealed how notions of race and identity were formulated by attitudes that were conceived at home and then tested in foreign locations. Identity was an uneven matrix composed of notions of self and other that were contested

through experiences of human bondage. By situating the negotiation of identity within a disparate environment, Cervantes and Sosa show that the self is never a given thing, but rather a fiction. Rather than portray his characters and humanity as flat, distinct and wholly containable, Cervantes, for example, affirms that one can never be reduced to any singularity. His characters show how the way in which we can "relate to ourselves and one another in a manner not subordinated by identity or identification, imaginary or symbolic" (Rajchman 82). Just as Cervantes and Sosa were able to see beyond the religious rivalry to exalt our common sense of humanity, our mission is to continue, as Appiah reminds us: "So cosmopolitanism shouldn't be seen as some exalted attainment: it begins with the simple idea that in the human community . . . we need to develop habits of coexistence: conversation in its older meaning, of living together" (xix). Sosa and Cervantes bring these commonalities home, reminding us of what it means to be human.

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Vita

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